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The Shape of Things

A SPECIAL MILITARY COURT AT ALGIERS HAS convicted Pierre Pucheu, former Minister of Industrial Production in the Vichy cabinet, of treasonable collusion with the enemy, and sentenced him to die. His defense was that the Vichy government was generally recognized as the legal government of France at the time he joined it. He also tried to prove that, while outwardly collaborating with the Nazis, he had secretly worked against them. A prudent man, Pucheu probably did try to hedge his bets; an intelligent man, he realized before some of his colleagues that Hitler was going to lose and attempted to transfer his investment to the winning side. The judges, however, were unimpressed by his belated conversion, and it is believed unlikely that the higher court to which he has appealed will set aside their verdict. We intend at an early date to publish an extended comment on this historic trial, and if possible a first-hand report of it.

*

MR. DE VALERA HAS INVESTED SO MUCH OF his political capital in uncompromising independence and unbending neutrality that his blank refusal of the United States' request to close the German and Japanese consulates in Dublin was only to be expected. But that is not likely to end the matter. With Anglo-American preparations for invasion of the Continent moving toward their climax, with Northern Ireland a major American base, the threat to security of Axis spies operating in Eire is too great to be ignored. It is all very well for Mr. De Valera to argue that his government has taken every precaution. The ten enemy agents he has jailed are probably only a small proportion of those at large and not a few unreconstructed Irish rebels are ready to lend them a hand. It is not surprising that, unable to obtain cooperation from Dublin, the Anglo-American High Command in Britain should have insisted on closing the border between Eire and Ulster and on the strictest supervision of traffic across the Irish Sea. Such measures will have detrimental effects on Irish economy and may be protested as unfair pressure tactics but with so many lives at stake we imagine public opinion in this country will not be critical. Our government, however, would be in a stronger position if it addressed Franco with equal firmness, asking him to clear all Germans out of Spain. Nazis in La Linea, only five minutes

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from Gibraltar, Nazis in Tangier and Spanish Morocco are no less dangerous to our cause than those in Ireland.

*

CHRONIC DISCONTENT IN BRITAIN'S COAL industry, boiling over in one of the worst strikes of the war, has caused a serious loss of production at a time when supplies are already dangerously low. The men are returning to work, but the settlement of this dispute will not end tension in the coal fields. The immediate cause of the trouble was a recent wage award setting a national weekly minimum for underground workers of $20 and for surface men of $18. These rates represented an advance, although some $2 a week less than the miners' union had demanded. The grievance of the men, however, was not so much with the minimums set as with the fact that there was no commensurate increase in piece rates. Other complaints were of the discontinuation of former bonuses for especially bad working-places and increased deduction for miners' house coal. But beyond such specific issues there was the long-standing belief of the colliers that they are the stepchildren of industry and government. Because of this emotional reaction most of the rank-and-file miners appear to be have overlooked the fact that the new wage award conceded them a *national* minimum—something for which they had been struggling for years. This will free the union from district negotiations and enable it to raise those problems of national planning which must be faced if the sickness of the British coal industry is to be cured.

*

THE A. F. OF L. HAS DECLARED THAT IT WILL reject the President's proposal to share with the C. I. O. representation at the forthcoming conference of the International Labor Organization at Philadelphia in April. If the C. I. O. is represented, the A. F. of L. threatens to withdraw from the work of the organization altogether and to try to prevent further Congressional appropriation for its support. This amazing stand, coming on the heels of the A. F. of L.'s refusal to attend the world conference of trade unions in June because of the presence of representatives from the Soviet unions, has created a situation in the ranks of labor not dissimilar to that which existed in the political sphere at the end of World War I. Since the conferences are called to consider post-war issues, representation by both American labor groups is important if labor is to exert any real influence on the peace. If the A. F. of L. does not participate, there is grave danger that it will drift into isolationism, opposing all international collaboration. This makes the President's task a delicate one. He must do all that he can to keep the A. F. of L. from making the threatened break; yet he dare not carry his appeasement to the extent of denying the C. I. O. its full rights. Fortunately, there are possibilities for compromise which have not yet been fully explored.

*

THE LAST HOPE FOR A SOLDIER-VOTE PLAN that would permit any substantial number of service men to cast their ballots in this fall's elections collapsed when two representatives, Rankin of Mississippi and LeCompte of Iowa, blocked a last-minute plan supported by the other conferees to permit all service men not receiving a state ballot by October 1 to cast a federal ballot. Under the scheme finally adopted by conference only men overseas will be eligible for the federal ballot, and because of distance it may be assumed that many of these will be unable to cast their votes. Thus the great controversy has ended, as far as Congress is concerned, in a complete victory for the unholy coalition of Republicans—who fear that the service men will vote Democratic—and Southern Democrats—who fear that Negroes might be permitted to vote. In an obvious effort to muddy the political waters still further, Governor Dewey has come forth with a "model" plan which he claims will make "voting simpler on Kwajalein than for the citizens at home." Under this plan each soldier is asked to send his name, home address, and service address to the Secretary of State of New York, and the state will undertake to provide a ballot. Simple though the plan may appear on paper, experts doubt whether it will lead to any large number of votes. Any plan that depends on the initiative of the individual soldier is dubious since few soldiers are likely to learn of the procedure required by their particular state. Moreover, as Mr. Dewey must be fully aware, the addresses of service men change from week to week, and a large proportion of the ballots are certain to go astray. Mr. Dewey revealed the political inspiration of his plan—and incidentally his own political ambitions—when he denounced the federal ballot on the ground that it made no provision for state and local offices. Yet the omission of these offices from the ballot proposed by the Green-Lucas bill was in deference to the states' rights interests for which Governor Dewey has become the chief spokesman.

*

THE COMMUNISTS ARE GETTING CLEVERER than ever in what George Creel in *Collier's* calls their "War on Cordell Hull." Earl Browder's latest move to ruin the old gentleman is to send a letter to *Collier's* denying that he ever "participated in any kind of a campaign against Mr. Cordell Hull" and declaring that the Secretary of State—lucky fellow—has Mr. Browder's "support, as well as [his] deep respect and admiration." According to Creel, the war on Hull has hitherto proved unsuccessful, but this subtle move by our gaily inconsistent Communist leader should finish him off. The FBI is notoriously suspicious of federal employees suspected of having visited the Soviet Union, and the Dies

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committee has waylaid many who were the recipients of less fervent missives from Earl Browder. We fear that Mr. Hull's days in office are numbered. Creel's superficial foray into State Department press agentry rarely rises above the level of attributing the attacks on Hull to a Red plot, embracing not only such notoriously weak-minded liberals as the editors of *The Nation* but even such stalwarts as those of the New York *Herald Tribune*. In some secret center, according to Mr. Creel, sits Fu Manchu Browder, devising diabolic stratagems, but none more daring or dastardly than this latest honeyed attempt at downright character assassination.

*

REPRESENTATIVE MAY DOUBTLESS FELT THAT he was upholding the honor of the white race when he prevailed upon the War Department not to use the Public Affairs Pamphlet "The Races of Mankind" in its orientation courses. Mr. May's specific objection to the pamphlet appears to have been a reference to the intelligence tests given by the American army in 1917 in which Northern Negroes from certain states made higher median scores than Southern whites from Mississippi, Kentucky, and Arkansas. The pamphlet goes on to explain that these differences "did not arise because people were from the North or the South, or because they were white or black, but because of difference in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities." Since Mr. May does not challenge the accuracy of the test, and can hardly be expected to contend that the poor showing of the Southern whites was due to any innate inferiority in comparison to either Northern whites or Negroes, his position is simply one of trying to keep the truth from our soldiers. In thus forbidding the presentation of scientific facts which utterly refute Nazi and Japanese theories of race superiority, Mr. May, as chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, is holding off from our soldiers the weapons by which they can defend themselves in the war for men's minds—a war that is even more important in Nazi strategy than the struggle for islands and beachheads.

A Revolting Necessity

BERLIN, subjected to an increasingly heavy battering over a period of months by the R. A. F., night bombers, has now experienced a rapid succession of massive daylight attacks by the American Eighth Air Force. There are signs that the enemy defenses are being smothered and that the Germans are preparing to abandon the city and evacuate the remaining population. If this happens, the Anglo-American air forces will have won a victory the significance of which can hardly be exaggerated. Berlin is of major importance to the German war effort as a center of production, as the hub of the whole transportation system, and as the seat of a highly centralized bureaucracy. The loss in administrative efficiency alone caused by the scattering of government offices is not a factor to be dismissed lightly.

Yet at the moment when Anglo-American air power appears to be approaching its apex of effectiveness, the whole policy of mass strategic bombing is being sharply challenged both here and in Britain. Its military results, it is claimed, cannot justify the appalling suffering that our terrific assault from the skies is inflicting on German noncombatants. This is the gist of the case made in a pamphlet "Massacre by Bombing" written by the well-known English author, Vera Brittain, and published in this country by the Fellowship of Reconciliation with the indorsement of a group of religious leaders and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The pamphlet, which gives a detailed but hardly objective or reliably documented account of the effects of raids on German cities, makes ugly reading. No one with imagination can contemplate the results of a rain of fire and high explosives on crowded streets with any complacency. And in so far as Miss Brittain's protest is directed against the indecent gloating with which the bombings are too often reported, it has our deep sympathy. We can agree, too, in dismissing the argument that the raids are justified as a means of paying back the Germans in their own coin for their murderous attacks on Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, and a host of other cities. As Miss Brittain says: "Retaliation in kind and worse means the reduction of ourselves to the level of our opponents."

Even if we could accept the theory that the total guilt of Germany deserves total punishment, we still have to remember the ten million foreign slaves in the country. They probably furnish an unduly large share of the casualties since they are forced to stay near their work and are often housed on factory premises. Nor can we forget that the bombing of military objectives often brings death to our friends in occupied countries. In this connection, political results sometimes seemed to have been weighed too lightly against military considerations. The heavy bombing of northern Italy last year, at a time when the Italian workers were rising against fascism, is difficult to defend on strategic grounds.

Nevertheless, when all is said, we still cannot accept Miss Brittain's proposition that "nothing less than absolute certainty" that mass bombing will shorten the war justifies its employment as a weapon. To order the kind of warfare we are waging is, indeed, a dreadful responsibility. But who is ready to take the responsibility of ordering its abandonment? "The whole of this air offensive," Mr. Churchill said in his last speech, "constitutes the foundation on which our plans for overseas invasion stand." The outline of our present strategy is not hard

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to trace. Prior to assaulting Fortress Europe we are endeavoring to knock the Luftwaffe out of the skies and to prevent its reinforcement. Concentrated attacks on German fuel supplies and communications will probably follow. For by these means we can hope to offset the advantages the enemy derives from his defensive preparations. Under any circumstances, the invasion of Europe must be a costly undertaking. Making their way to the shore through acres of minefields, our men will have to storm bitterly contested beaches and a network of concrete fortifications bristling with every deadly weapon. Having established beachheads they must anticipate savage counter-attacks made by a highly mobile enemy, commanding large strategic reserves. Before they tackle these tasks, can we, dare we, neglect any means of reducing the German ability to resist? Quite apart from the lives that would be sacrificed by such a policy, we have to take into consideration what failure will mean in terms of prolonging the war and the agony of millions under the Nazi heel.

Deprived of the weapon of mass bombing our armies might easily be so handicapped that the war would be stalemated. That, perhaps, is what the protesters have in view, for what they are really attacking is not a weapon of war but war as a weapon. But, hating war, the peoples of the United Nations hate the alternative—Nazi domination—still more. And because they do so they will not shrink from "the revolting necessity"— to use the words of Bishop C. Bromley Oxnam—of obliteration bombing of German cities.

Post-War Education

PERSONS who are interested in the probable direction of American educational development after the war would do well to study the report which the New York Board of Regents submitted to the 1944 state legislature some weeks ago. In general, it is an interesting and heartening program. The Board of Regents envisions a very considerable expansion in the state's educational facilities from the kindergarten through college.

Unique from an educational viewpoint is the plan to establish twenty-two new two-year colleges, to be called institutes, to provide technical training for students who, for one reason or another, would not normally attend college. Present plans call for the setting up of such institutes specializing in technical fields like agriculture, aviation, the graphic arts, industrial arts, automotives, science, food occupations, machines and metals, and communications. Plans have also been drawn up for the creation of an Institute of Public Service Training at Albany for the training of state and local government employees, and an Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at a site yet undetermined.

These institutes will fill an important gap in American public education. Although similar to junior colleges in many respects, they will offer a much more concrete and practical curriculum and thus should attract many students who otherwise would discontinue their education after finishing high school. In addition to providing needed technical courses, these institutes will stress citizenship training and offer a wide range of cultural subjects. It is hoped that through night courses and other special arrangements they can be made available not only to high-school graduates desiring specialized training but to persons of any educational background.

The Regents' plan also calls for a very large expansion in the system of free scholarships for college students. Instead of 750 scholarships worth $100 a year, as at present, 12,000 scholarships will be offered worth $350 a year. The seeming generosity of this proposal is offset, however, by the fact that New York is one of the few states that does not maintain a state university with free tuition for residents. Even if the Regents' proposal is adopted, only one-tenth of the 120,000 boys and girls graduated from the state's high schools each year will be able to obtain free tuition in a regular college at the state's expense. New York's backwardness in this respect is recognized by the Regents, who point out that at present the state's per capita expense for higher education is among the lowest in the country—43 cents as against a national average of $1.15.

The Regents' post-war program is not limited to higher education. A further consolidation of school districts is urged for country areas, and additional state aid is proposed to provide more kindergartens and to develop counseling services and adult education. All these steps are significant because they appear to chart the main channels of post-war educational development. The need for retraining millions of service men and war workers for peace-time occupations will unquestionably lead to a new emphasis on technical and vocational training and adult education throughout the country. The New York program anticipates this need and provides a practical way of meeting it.

The most glaring omission in the Regents' proposals is their failure to provide for the development of a work-study program that would enable young people of limited financial ability to continue their studies in secondary school and above. Even with the increased scholarships, thousands of superior students will be barred from the benefits of higher education unless special arrangements are made to help them earn their own way. Such a program should probably be financed by the federal government rather than the states, as, indeed, the National Resources Planning Board recommended. But in the absence of federal action, the responsibility for this basic step toward providing real equality in educational opportunity obviously rests with the states.

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A Crisis of Confidence

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

FOREIGN policy is the chief instrument of political war. This elementary fact has been recognized by our enemies from the day they first tackled the job of expanding fascism from a local racket to a world cartel. The present crisis in foreign policy is, therefore, a war crisis, a crisis in the political war we have been waging so ineptly and so reluctantly ever since we gave up the hope of winning peace through appeasement.

That the crisis is a major one we can guess from the way it is being handled in the Allied press and on the radio. The deep disturbance over our failure to agree with our Allies on a series of crucial issues has spread far out beyond the usual limits. We find staunch defenders of State Department policy joining—though they don't openly admit the union—with critics on the left in demanding a showdown on Italy, on Spain, on the recognition of De Gaulle. They point out that we are losing by default to Russia; that we can make our influence felt on the Continent only if we manage to arrive at a policy which makes sense in the light of actual developments. In Yugoslavia we have been jockeyed into a position where we can neither abandon the government-in-exile nor support it. We seem unable to make up our minds on De Gaulle, although the British are supposedly urging a quick decision. By our continued support of Badoglio we are not moderating the feeling of the Italian people toward their unwanted ex-post-fascist government; we are only hardening it against their liberators. Our latest negotiations with Franco are blurred by censorship, though we have been permitted to learn that they are progressing nicely. But even if Franco agrees to withhold every ounce of wolfram from Germany, we shall not have changed an enemy into a friend; we shall merely have convinced the Spanish people all over again that we are either dupes or reactionaries.

These are only a few of the raw materials—very raw, indeed—out of which the crisis has been made. Others lie on the borders of Poland, in Finland, in Germany. Whatever may be the rights of Russia's case in Poland, the conviction has grown fast in this country that we have had nothing whatever to say about it. Mr. Hull offered our good offices to settle the dispute, and Moscow refused them. Apart from this we have acted as troubled onlookers, occasionally mumbling a few words about the desirability of postponing difficult problems till after the war.

The collapse of confidence is of course not the result of any list of failures but rather of the fact, now glaringly apparent, that no genuine understanding was reached in the series of conferences among the Allied leaders. A bridge was built across a wide chasm of suspicion and division of interest. Personal contact, never more important, curiously enough, than in this war of masses and machines, was established after two years of near isolation. But the agreements which alone could have held the bridge in place were not made. Basic issues were either avoided altogether or an agreement was made to disagree—perhaps within certain prescribed geographical and political limits. And meanwhile, as the war gains in intensity, *ad hoc* solutions are found for the problems the diplomats dodged. Sheer force moves boundaries, sets up or overthrows governments. And the hope of a united policy, of political cooperation between the major allies, seems to fade day by day.

This, then, is the essence of the crisis. People fear, quite reasonably, that if the efforts of Russia, Britain, and the United States cannot be coordinated for the purposes of political warfare, the chance of effective collective action after the war is a slim one.

Now another conference has been called to deal with the problems which have multiplied and developed so much explosive power since the last toast was drunk at Teheran. No one ever dreams that Under Secretary Stettinius will be able to solve them. Alibis are being prepared in advance; several dispatches have already described the coming talks as primarily "exploratory" in character.

I think it should be clear by this time that any single conference, particularly one called in a period of tension, is certain to provide stop-gap remedies, sedatives rather than cures. It may be essential as a preliminary to thoroughgoing treatment but it is not a substitute for such treatment. Mr. Churchill said not long ago, "There would be very few differences between the three great powers if their chief representatives could meet once a month." The Prime Minister should have gone a step further. What is needed is continuous rather than periodic consultation.

For more than two years *The Nation* has urged the necessity of setting up a permanent United Nations political council, a body which would be charged with the handling of inter-Allied political problems and with the formulation of political strategy. Its members should be policy-making officials of top rank. Its powers in the field of political warfare should be as great as those exercised by the joint military high command, and the work of the two should, of course, be closely coordinated. Not once in a while, or once a month, but every day in the year this body should sit; it should deal with political issues as they arise—not after they reach the point of explosion.

Mr. Stettinius, in the course of his discussions in London, should press the necessity of setting up such a council. No other single job he could do would yield as great benefits, or go as far toward ending the dangerous confusions and conflicts responsible for today's crisis.

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Palestine Run-Around

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10

MR. ROOSEVELT'S statement to the National Conference on Palestine won the gratitude of all friends of a Jewish national home. When the President authorized Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba H. Silver "to say that the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939," he was making more than a platonic gesture. It is too often forgotten, notably in Downing Street, (1) that Palestine is not a British colony but a mandate, (2) that France gave up its claim to Palestine and the League granted the mandate on condition that Britain establish a Jewish national home there, and (3) that this condition is also the basis on which the United States, in a separate treaty with Britain in 1925, accorded American recognition to the Palestine mandate. Article 6 of that treaty, like Article 6 of the League mandate, requires the Administration of Palestine to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions" and "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land." The Anglo-American treaty of 1925 provides that there may be no change in its terms "unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States." The White Paper of 1939, Chamberlain's Middle East Munich pact, provided that Jewish immigration should be shut off entirely after five years "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." This was "plainly a breach and repudiation" of Britain's obligations under the mandate and therefore invalid without American approval. The President can summon an august witness on the point, for the man who called the White Paper "plainly a breach and repudiation" was Winston Churchill.

In Washington the effect of the President's statement will be further to confuse those who were prepared to accept in good faith General Marshall's request that Congress shelve the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution. The position taken by the Chief of Staff before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was that passage of the resolution would lead to trouble with the Arabs. The opinion of the Chief of Staff in time of war necessarily carries great weight, and the National Conference on Palestine deferred to it. But if appeasement of the Arabs was necessary for military reasons, how explain the President's statement? It is true that the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution would put Congress on record as favoring immigration into Palestine "so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," while the President only promises "full justice . . . to those who seek a Jewish national home." But I doubt whether the difference will be regarded as appeasement by the Arab rulers, especially when they consider that the President's reference to the White Paper opens the door to American diplomatic intervention, whereas the Congressional resolution is little more than a reaffirmation of a similar expression of opinion by Congress in 1922.

The Chief of Staff tells Congress that we dare not express an opinion on Palestine lest we offend the Arabs. The Commander-in-Chief then proceeds to express just such an opinion. Dr. Silver, after seeing the President, is encouraged to hope that military authorities "will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, to withdraw their objections." Under the circumstances, it is not hard to understand why so cautious and conservative a man as Senator Taft publicly questions these alleged military reasons and calls for passage of his resolution in spite of them. This whole affair and its background leave one with the distinct impression that the Marshall statement was another example of a makeshift foreign policy cloaked as military expediency, the fruit of subterranean pressures and petty intrigue. I do not question General Marshall's sincerity or good-will. He has his hands full and can hardly be expected independently to investigate advice which comes to him on political matters from State and War Department Near East experts. But I am inclined to think that the Chief of Staff in this Palestinian matter, like Eisenhower on several occasions in French North African affairs, has been the innocent dupe of wilier men.

If the State Department had wanted to take responsibility for opposing the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, it could easily and quietly have prevented the bill's introduction. If military reasons made the measure unwise, a hint to the sponsors would have been enough to stop them. The origin of the resolution goes back to conversations last year between Zionist leaders and the highest officials of the State Department, including Mr. Hull and Mr. Welles. These officials were friendly, and the Zionists were given to understand that it would be helpful to the State Department if Congress reasserted American policy in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine. In the middle of January, two weeks before the bill was introduced, Rabbi Silver went to see Secretary Hull. Had the Secretary ad-

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vised him that the resolution was ill-timed, introduction would have been postponed. Mr. Hull said the State Department could take no position on pending legislation but indicated no opposition. This, in the light of the preceding conversations and Mr. Hull's known caginess, was regarded as a hint that the Zionists might go ahead.

There were other ways in which the bill might have been stopped. Senator Wagner, its co-sponsor in the Upper House, is a ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, a devoted and responsible Administration supporter. A hint to him of any military risk would have been enough. Senator Taft, who joined with Wagner in offering the bill, had first written to Secretary Hull to ask whether the State Department had any objections. When Senator Taft received no reply, he took the matter up with his brother, Charles P. Taft, an official of the department. Taft, after discussing the question within the department, reported that there were no objections. The bill was introduced in the House on January 27 and in the Senate on February 1 and warmly supported in both houses by both the majority and the minority leaders. Either Senator Barkley or Representative McCormack could have been warned if military considerations made the bill unwise at this time.

In the House, Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, is notoriously subservient to the State Department. Before ordering hearings on the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution, he also got into touch with Secretary Hull. While Hull was noncommittal, he was not hostile. Bloom took this as a hint to go ahead. The hearings in the House lasted from February 8 to February 16, and ended with no expression of opposition from State or War Department. The Senate committee held an executive session on February 17 and heard witnesses for and against the bill, again with no opposition from Administration sources. It was not until six days later, on February 23, that a special session was hurriedly summoned by the committee to hear General Marshall and to consider letters from Secretaries Hull and Stimson asking that no action be taken on the resolution at this time. Oddly enough, neither Senator Wagner nor Senator Taft was present at the executive session which heard Marshall, although they were co-sponsors of the bill. Wagner and Taft say they were not informed of the meeting.

There is no reason to believe that the military situation changed in the few weeks between the introduction of the resolution and Marshall's appearance before the committee. Was a change in attitude brought about by protests from Arab countries against passage of the resolution? These did not begin to arrive until March 1, several days after Marshall testified. They give the appearance of a concerted attempt to ride in on the coat-tails of an arranged victory, and one wonders whether they were made before assurances had been obtained through diplomatic channels that they would be welcome. The sequence of events was such as to hand proponents of a Jewish national home a humiliating defeat after they and their Congressional supporters had been given no reason to believe that their efforts were ill-timed or contrary to national interest. The incident was not made less disturbing by the excuses offered in private to Zionist leaders by high State and War Department officials. The State Department blamed the War Department for the change of front. In the War Department it was said that the State Department was responsible and that the War Department wasn't particularly concerned about the measure.

Were the Zionists led into a trap? Or were they the victim of last-minute pressure from the British government? Though Mr. Churchill remains a friend of the Zionist cause, the Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration are generally anti-Zionist and pro-Arab, and intend to enforce the White Paper. Another influence hostile to a Jewish national home is that of Brigadier General Patrick J. Hurley, who returned from the Near East bursting with suspicion of British imperialism and anxious to outbid it for Arab favor in order to further American exploitation of Near East oil. Hurley is an "oil" general, like Gulf's General Walter Pyron, the chief War Department adviser on oil. Still Harry Sinclair's lawyer and Washington Man Friday, Hurley operates in full military panoply out of his corporation law office in Washington, with his press agent commissioned a major. He is one of those who think Arabian oil too important to be left "at the mercy of local conflict," the implication being that the conflict must be ended by liquidating the effort to build a Jewish home in Palestine.

The Near Eastern Division of the State Department is another important factor behind the scenes. It shares the prejudices and antipathies of the Colonial Office. There is the same natural and instinctive orientation to the Arab potentate and large landowner, the same dislike of the Jew. Its leading Arab expert seems to be a Colonel Harold B. Hoskins, who is closely associated with Adolf Berle, another great friend of the Arabs. In his civilian capacity Colonel Hoskins is a New York cotton-goods merchant. He was born in Beirut, the son of American missionaries, and perhaps might best be described politically as a Syrian nationalist. He spent the winter of 1942-43 in the Near East on a special mission of inquiry, whence he returned with the same preconceptions with which he left. I have the alarmist report on "The Present Situation in the Near East" which he circulated confidentially last year among Congressmen he thought might be won to his views. It is anti-French and anti-Jewish, and its section on "People Seen" indicates that though he spoke with many

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Arabs, Frenchmen, and British colonial officials, he spoke with no Jewish leaders on his trip. The report is almost entirely taken up with arguments against Jewish aspirations in Palestine, seasoned with unfriendly remarks about the Jews of North Africa. It is on men like Hurley and Hoskins that Marshall must necessarily have relied, at least in part, when he advised Congress that it would be unwise to pass the Wagner-Taft-Wright-Compton resolution.

This undercover campaign against a Jewish national home in Palestine is much like the campaign last year to deprive the Jews of French North Africa of their citizenship. All sorts of dire predictions were made of Arab revolt and military difficulties if the Crémieux decree were reinstated. But there was no trouble when the French National Committee put the decree back into effect, restoring French citizenship to the Jews. I wonder to what extent the campaign against the Palestine resolution is due to the same kind of wishful thinking. I note that the March 4 issue of the New York *Times*, which is strongly anti-Zionist, carried a dispatch from Jerusalem saying that "Palestinian Arab politics at this time present a somewhat confused appearance." The "confusion" seems to be in the eye of the beholder. The correspondent reports that Arab political parties seem to be having trouble trying to "drum up a popular following." He credits this to "a public inertia that may be attributed to the general absorption with the prosperity brought to the Arab peasantry as a result of the huge Allied military expenditures." Palestinian Arabs seem much less aroused than the Near Eastern Division of the State Department.

The fact is, as attested over and over again by official investigations, that the Arabs of Palestine have benefited by Jewish immigration, however that may pain Hitler's friend and would-be Quisling, the Grand Mufti, now in Berlin. In 1920, as Colonel Hoskins shows in his private report, there were 600,000 Arabs in Palestine. In 1942, their number had risen to 1,000,000. That doesn't sound as though the Arabs have suffered from the influx of Jews.

"In our history we have colonized all over the world," Josiah Wedgwood told the House of Commons during the debate over the White Paper in 1939, "but this is the first case in which we have colonized without injuring the native population. One has only to go today to the neighboring countries of Syria or Egypt to see the condition of the fellahin, of the Arab workers of those two countries, and compare it with their position in Palestine, to see how enormously the natives of Palestine have benefited by the immigration of the Jews." That this should arouse the fear and enmity of the Arab politicos and landowners is natural, but their protests ought not to be taken for the voice of the Arab masses. Apparently the President does not intend to do so.

50 Years Ago in "The Nation"

FEARLESS UTTERANCE of the truth has become a lost art with the truckling and time-serving breed of politicians, who are most offensive precisely because they dare not run the risk of offending anybody. If abandoning all political hope is the secret of courage . . ., a society ought at once to be formed on that principle for the unlocking of honest men's mouths.—*March 1, 1894.*

THE COLUMBIA BICYCLE Catalogue for 1894. Describes fully the new line of Columbia Wheels, and is by far the handsomest and most comprehensive ever issued by a bicycle establishment. . . . Its pages are alive with interesting matter pertaining to cycling, and should be read by every intending purchaser of a bicycle. (ADVT.)—*March 1, 1894.*

THE PASSAGE of the "Greater New York" bill, in accordance with which the voters of the district which it is proposed to convert into the larger city will be given an opportunity to express their opinion on the subject, furnishes an issue of much interest for the approaching campaign. While there is probably considerable sentimental opinion in favor of the proposition, there is also a strong undercurrent of opposition, based upon the fear that the tax rate of New York will be greatly increased if Brooklyn and other outlying communities are added to ours. Brooklyn is at present taxed almost beyond the point of endurance, while our tax rate, owing to the city's enormous wealth, is very low.—*March 8, 1894.*

"A STANDARD DICTIONARY of the English Language." Prepared under the supervision of Isaac K. Funk, D.D., etc. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. . . . Great prominence is given in the advertisements to claims for this dictionary of an enormous number of words . . ., although the strenuous effort of the good lexicographer is to *keep down* his vocabulary. In an ordinary dictionary of reference, 25,000 words comprise all that anybody ever looks out. The rest is obstructive rubbish.—*March 8, 1894.*

BOOKS OF THE WEEK: . . . Tolstoi, Count Leo. "The Kingdom of God Is Within You." . . . Zola, Emile. "The Experimental Novel, and Other Essays."—*March 15, 1894.*

THE ABOLITION of Fast Day in Massachusetts . . . is personally a triumph for Ex-Governor Russell, who first, though unsuccessfully, urged it upon the legislature. The day had come to be only a pious mockery, in reality nothing but a general holiday masquerading as a time of fasting and prayer. . . . Its abolition will doubtless seem to many timid souls as little less than a plunge into atheism, but it is really in the interest of religion as well of common sense and sound ideas of government.—*March 22, 1894.*

THE APRIL NUMBER of the *North American Review* contains: . . . Private History of the "Jumping Frog" Story. By Mark Twain. (ADVT.)—*March 29, 1894.*

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Hymn to Free Enterprise

The Voice of Business

1. Of freedom this and freedom that the drooling leftist chatters,
But freedom for Free Enterprise is all that really matters;
This freedom was ordained by God, upon it rest all others,
For man's divinest impulse is to overreach his brothers;
And so to this celestial urge we make our offering votive,
Behind all human greatness lies the noble Profit Motive.

Chorus of Bankers, Stockbrokers, Executives, and Advertising Men

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
In it the world's salvation lies,
Without it every freedom dies;
O glorious Free Enterprise—
The Enterprise that PAYS!

Solo: The President of the Manufacturers' Association

2. For victory we're giving all—at scarcely more than cost;
But how will victory help us if Free Enterprise be lost?
The war's demands for well-laid plans most loyally we've heeded,
But peace is quite a different thing—no planning then is needed;
So, while today the state's controls have stretched us on the rack,
The moment victory comes in sight we want our freedom back!

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
In armed revolt we'll all arise
If any post-war party tries
To undermine Free Enterprise—
The Enterprise that PAYS!

Solo: The President of the Chamber of Commerce

3. At periods when Free Enterprise may not provide employment
We dread the thought of hungry men—it lessens our enjoyment;
The government must then step in, with this consideration—
That any public works proposed do not increase taxation;
Depressions, after all, good friends, much as we may deplore them,
Are acts of God. Who ever heard of blaming business for them?

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
Of course, when profits shrink in size
To lay men off is only wise;
We dearly love Free Enterprise,
But only when it PAYS.

Solo: The President of the Bankers' Association

4. We face today a dreadful threat from fools who would destroy us,
Of "Socialized Security" they prate in accents joyous;
Security? Its cost alone would drive us to perdition,
Besides, it kills initiative and dries up all ambition;
Security breaks down the will, the urge that keeps men free,
It stifles effort, starves the soul—except in men like me.

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
While Wagner, Beveridge theorize,
Their deadly, bolshevistic lies
Are poisoning Free Enterprise—
The Enterprise that PAYS.

Solo: The President of the Advertisers' Association

5. Conspirators on every side Free Enterprise have slandered,
Forgetting that it's given us the world's best living standard;
We eat and drink supremely well at Mayflower, Ritz, or Rideau,
And no one drives more Cadillacs or bigger ones then we do;
How blind the Socialist who plots this way of life to shatter!
Free Enterprise brings wealth to all—at least to all who matter.

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
In grateful pride we publicize
The soldier in this war who dies:
"He died to save Free Enterprise—
The Enterprise that PAYS!"

The Voice of Business

6. Free Enterprise does not, of course, mean silly competition,
And cutting prices is a sin for which there's no remission;
A "Gentlemen's Agreement" is the best of all devices
To stabilize our dividends, our markets, and our prices;
For taking risks we've little love, we set our whole affection
On something like monopoly, with adequate protection.

Chorus

Then hail we now Free Enterprise,
Extol and give it praise!
In it the world's salvation lies,
Without it every freedom dies;
O glorious Free Enterprise,
O wonderful Free Enterprise,
O MARVELOUS Free Enterprise—
The Enterprise that PAYS!

J. D. K.

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China in Distress

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

ACCORDING to Admiral Nimitz, Allied strategy calls for the ultimate seizure of bases on the coast of China. General Stilwell has promised that Chinese forces will drive eastward from the interior to effect a strategic junction with Allied forces advancing across the Pacific. The important military and political obstacles to be surmounted in the carrying through of such a plan were discussed recently in these columns.* What is not sufficiently appreciated is that the economic obstacles to a successful land offensive are equally great.

Americans traveling in China see the country's economic difficulties chiefly in terms of inflation. By the beginning of 1944 prices had mounted to such fantastic levels as to stagger the imagination. In Chungking, where the situation is worst, prices are now more than 200 times as high as in 1937 and are continuing to rise at the rate of 10 per cent or more a month. Because of the shortage of goods the price of some manufactured articles has risen more than 500-fold. Americans, who must exchange their dollars for Chinese currency at an artificially pegged rate, pay $10 or more for a meal, $60 for a pair of shoes, and $2 for a package of cigarettes.

Individuals are not the only ones affected. The American government faces an equally appalling situation in the development of its military facilities in China. Some of the difficulties are unavoidable. There is a scarcity of all kinds of supplies, and it has been made worse by hoarding. The chief hardship, however, is the result of arbitrary Chinese exchange restrictions. For despite the rapid decline in the purchasing power of Chinese currency, the official exchange rate, applicable to government as well as private transactions, has been maintained at 20 to 1. The true rate on the basis of changes in the purchasing power of the two currencies since 1937 is probably between 450 and 500 Chinese *yuan* for $1. Since the beginning of February State Department employees, American correspondents, missionaries, business men, and other foreigners have been granted a special 40-to-1 rate which has eased their position slightly. American relief funds have also been given the advantage of this special rate. But the American army's expenditures for airfields, barracks, and other military installations have, until the past week, remained pegged at the 20-to-1 ratio, a rate which practically precludes extensive undertakings. While the Chinese government offsets this handicap in part by building and paying for the operational parts of the airfields, the artificially pegged exchange rate has unquestionably delayed our military preparations. Discussions are now under way between the Chinese and American governments for some adjustment in the official exchange rate for military expenditures. But even if the army is given the benefit of the 40-to-1 rate, the cost of new facilities will still be so high as to prevent any but the most urgent kind of construction.

Why the United States government has permitted China to hamper the war effort, to exploit individual Americans, and minimize the effect of our relief activities by so greatly undervaluing the dollar is a matter of which no satisfactory explanation has ever been given. True, the right to fix the exchange rate is always regarded as one of the basic privileges of a sovereign nation. But in war time especially, it is a right which should be exercised in close cooperation with other countries. And it is difficult to see why the United States should feel obligated to provide China with the funds to support an exchange ratio that would otherwise collapse of its own weight. Yet that is precisely what we have done and are continuing to do. At the present moment half of the American $500,000,000 loan to China is still on deposit in this country in American currency, and it is estimated that China has an additional $200,000,000 in private assets invested in the United States. The present exchange rate unquestionably has aided China and individual Chinese citizens in maintaining these foreign assets abroad, but at the expense of the war effort.

China itself was not particularly harmed by the inflation in its early stages. About the only persons who suffered seriously during the early years of the war were teachers, government officials, and army officers, all of whom were dependent on fixed salaries. Hardest hit were the college professors. Early in 1943 it was estimated that the salaries of full professors in the Chinese universities, despite some increase, had a purchasing power only about one-twentieth as great as their pre-war salaries. It is still lower today. Although the government has sought to alleviate their plight by rice subsidies, many professors and officials find acute difficulty in obtaining the basic necessities of life. In contrast, coolies, skilled workers, and farmers suffered little, if at all, during the first three or four years of the inflation. Wages increased to keep pace with the cost of living, and farmers benefited from the higher prices obtainable for their crops.

During the past year, however, even these latter groups have begun to suffer from the general deterioration in production resulting from the inflation. Except for a

*Victory Lies in China, by Maxwell S. Stewart, February 26, 1944.

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few kinds of skilled labor, wages have fallen behind the rise in living costs. The strenuous efforts which the government has made to hold down the price of rice and other food has seriously affected small farmers. Such farmers now find that the prices of the things they must buy, few as they are, have risen more than the prices they receive for their crops. It is estimated that the real income of this group, scarcely above a bare subsistence level in normal times, has declined at least 10 per cent.

Despite its catastrophic effect on large groups in the population, an inflationary rise in prices usually has a stimulating effect on production. This seems to have been true in China until about the time of Pearl Harbor, or a little later. Recently, however, essential war production has been increasingly curtailed by the universal shortage of goods and the efforts of the government to control prices. Factories making war materials have closed down or shifted to civilian production. Manufacturers who had made contracts with the government for munitions have frequently been compelled to cancel them because they found that the price offered by the government did not begin to cover the rising costs of raw materials and labor. Industrial and financial interests have found it more profitable to hoard and speculate in raw materials than to turn them into finished goods. Because of hoarding and high transportation costs, even government-owned munitions plants have encountered difficulty in obtaining sufficient raw materials to operate at capacity. The production of other raw materials required by the United Nations has also been curtailed. For example, the output of wolfram, badly needed in the United States, was cut 50 per cent in 1943; in Yunnan the output of the great Kechiu tin mine has been reduced from 10,700 tons in 1938 to slightly more than 2,000 tons last year. Production of tungsten is also declining, and part of the output is alleged to have been smuggled into Japanese hands. The New York *Times* recently reported that 68 of the 364 factories in the Chungking area had closed their doors and that more were expected to do so before spring. Most construction, including the building of new strategic railways, has come to a standstill.

The government has done little to develop an adequate program of war production. Total steel output in 1942, for example, was only about 10,000 tons. This output could be increased several-fold by making greater use of the facilities of small village industries. But without an over-all plan for war production such an increase would be futile. Actually, according to the *Ta Kung Pao*, China's leading independent newspaper, "the iron-and-steel industry is producing more than consumers can buy." Commenting further on the inadequacy of industrial planning in war-time China, the *Ta Kung Pao* says: "A sound plan for industrial development has been lacking so far. Although government enterprises have achieved considerable results, it is open to discussion whether there is sufficient planning for the future. Private industries are being developed without rational planning in relation to existing communications and raw-material supplies."

For an explanation of this lack of planning and the general laxity on the economic front it is necessary to probe rather deeply into the economic and social structure of war-time China. The China of today is not the China of 1937. All its seaports and industrial cities have been lost. In losing them China also lost a large proportion of the men who had risen to financial and industrial leadership. When the great cities of Nanking, Shanghai, Canton, Hankow, and Hongkong fell into the hands of the enemy, the bankers, merchants, and industrialists who had founded modern business establishments in these cities stayed behind and were captured by the Japanese, were killed, or saw their property taken by the enemy. With the wiping out of this class of modern business men, financial leadership in China passed into the hands of those whose wealth lay in the interior, chiefly large landowners and merchants. This group has none of the progressive traditions of the port cities. It has its roots in China's archaic system of land tenure and is chiefly interested in perpetuating that system.

The tenancy problem varies considerably in different parts of China. In some sections, chiefly North China, most of the land is owned by those who farm it. But in other areas, including a large part of what is now Free China, most of the land is controlled by absentee landlords. The rents charged in these areas are extremely high, amounting to half or more of the total crops. Moreover, the landlords, the moneylenders, and the merchants often work together to maintain this highly exploitative share-cropping system, together with arrangements for small loans at extremely high rates of interest. Naturally, this combination has considerable political as well as economic power in the areas where it is dominant.

The inflation and the accompanying wave of speculation have probably increased its power, since this group alone has had idle money to use for hoarding and speculation. And to complete the vicious circle, this increased power has been used, according to the *Ta Kung Pao*, to prevent the Chinese government from instituting the bold policies necessary to stimulate production and bring the inflation under control, thus obstructing the effective prosecution of the war. Some critics go even farther and insist that the government's policy of subsidizing the landowners by agricultural credit loans—a policy entered into on the theory that this would increase farm production—has merely given the landlord more money for speculation and for lending out at exorbitant interest.

The situation appears to have been aggravated by the government's imposition of a tax in kind on the peasants and small craftsmen. This tax is of course a natural out-

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growth of the inflation. In a period when prices are rising rapidly, taxes payable in currency are unsatisfactory, particularly for a country at war. Vast quantities of grain, meat, and other farm products are needed to feed the army, and the government can only be sure of getting these supplies if it collects them directly from the producer. At best, such a tax was bound to be unpopular with the farmers. But resentment has been made much greater in China by the presence of widespread favoritism and graft. It is generally believed that the large landowners, having both influence and money, get off rather lightly in the forced grain collections, while the poorer farmers are forced to contribute up to half of their total crop in "taxes." Furthermore, much of the grain that is collected never reaches the National Government authorities but serves merely to enrich the local militarists. And in some areas the collections have been so severe as to create famine conditions.

Equally unpopular with the Chinese peasant has been the enforcement of the universal-military-service law, which in theory is supposed to mobilize Chinese manpower for an all-out war effort. In some areas half to two-thirds of the men of military age have been conscripted for the army. In addition, a proportion of the men, horses, and carts in every village are drafted for transport and other noncombatant service. The national-service regulations are also subject to gross abuse. The peasants complain that they are often forced to work on projects wholly unconnected with the war for the benefit and enrichment of local military leaders.

In several parts of the country the resentment against forced grain collections and national labor service has led to open revolts against the government. The most serious of these revolts occurred in the widely separated provinces of Kweichow—where the most serious famine occurred—and Kansu. Several smaller peasant uprisings are known to have taken place in other sections of Free China. The Kansu revolt involved an area with a population of one to two million and was still not fully suppressed at last report. Kweichow's uprising was put down after a considerable loss of life.

Even from this brief survey it should be evident that China's economic problems are deepseated. While some critics insist that the government, by adopting all-out economic measures, could provide the basic war materials necessary for its own armies, few observers see any chance of this being accomplished without aid. If the Chinese economy is to be rehabilitated during the war so as to meet the on-the-spot needs of the United Nations armies, a considerable portion of the responsibility for planning and directing that effort will have to come from the United States. This obviously means more than mere financial assistance—although such assistance is essential.

A means of effective economic as well as military cooperation will have to be worked out before China can be made the base for offensive military operations against Japan. This cooperation will undoubtedly have political as well as economic and military implications. For it is evident that the revitalization of the Chinese war effort is at bottom a political problem. Because China is rightly sensitive regarding foreign interference in its internal affairs, this problem may be hard to solve. Experience with a century of Western imperialism has made the Chinese suspicious of foreign influence of any kind. Because of the depth of this feeling, the American, British, and Soviet governments have hitherto adopted a strictly "hands-off" attitude regarding China's economic and political problems. But there is at least reason to question whether this policy has been altogether wise in view of the immense stake which all four nations have in an early victory.

In the Wind

INTEREST in foreign languages runs with the tides of war and politics. The Berlitz School of Languages reports that the demand for Russian has more than doubled since the Red Army began to hit back in 1942, though it declines whenever Stalin makes a move or statement that is unpopular in this country. The Linguaphone Institute, which is also having a boom in Russian, says the demand for French slumped badly after the defeat of France but is now increasing rapidly.

THE NEUTRAL CONSCIENCE: *Irish Travel,* official organ of the Irish Tourist Association, recently published on one page photographs of "Fujiyama, the Sacred Mountain of Japan," and "Mount Erigal, Donegal." The caption, in large type at the top of the page, was "See Japan—in Ireland."

ALL IS NOT DARK in Dixie. Georgia has become the first state in the Union to sponsor a statewide Sew-for-Russia campaign among its high-school students. The Homemaking Division of the Department of Education expects 15,000 garments to be made by girl students this month.

THE *CHRISTIAN CENTURY* reports that the Virgin Mary has been made an honorary general in the Argentine army. She receives no salary, but is allowed a "vivaticum" of ten dollars a day—which is collected by the church.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Danish underground newspaper comments thus on the 8 p.m. curfew imposed by the Nazis: "Does a Dane like anything better than to sit at home on a quiet night when the noise of the town has ceased and hear the stillness broken only by a violent explosion? That is the saboteurs' good-night kiss to Adolf."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Does Europe Need Germany?

BY LOUIS FISCHER

MOLOTOV, Hull, and Eden resolved last autumn, at the Moscow conference, that "those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part" in atrocities, massacres, and executions be sent back to the place of their crimes for punishment, and that others too, "whose offenses have no particular geographical localization" be judged by the Allies. Most persons in non-fascist countries will agree. But most persons will also agree that such retribution is only the first short step toward a solution of the German problem.

The main purpose of the peace is to prevent another war. Will the terms imposed by the victors on Germany—and Japan—create conditions that conduce to peace? That is *the* question. The primary criterion of the peace should not be its good or bad effect on Germany but its effect on the world.

Considering its murders and sins, Germany undoubtedly deserves a cruel, crushing peace. The real test of the future peace settlement, however, is not whether Germany deserves it but whether we can afford it.

There is little to choose between Germany's barbarities and aggressions and those of Japan. Chiang Kai-shek is the last man to forget Japan's misdeeds. In a January 1, 1944, broadcast Chiang revealed that, at the Cairo conference, President Roosevelt asked him his views on the fate of Japan. Chiang replied, "It is my opinion that the Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system must be purged of every vestige of aggressive elements. . . . If the Japanese people should rise in a revolution to punish their warmongers and to overthrow their militarist government, we should respect their spontaneous will and allow them to choose their own form of government."

"President Roosevelt fully approved of my idea," Chiang added. Chiang explained that he was disclosing this historic conversation in order to proclaim China's readiness "to give a helping hand to the innocent and harmless people in Japan." Chiang Kai-shek, Roosevelt concurring, believes in another Japan.

Hitler and Himmler also believe in a second Germany; else they would not execute Germans for listening to the foreign radio and fill prisons and concentration camps with enemies of their regime. It is paying the Nazi dictatorship too high a compliment to assume that all Germans are pro-Nazi. A dictatorship is by definition a government which acts without consulting the people. Terror and the din of clever, repetitious propaganda often achieve subsequent popular acceptance of the acts of the dictatorship.

Numerous Germans became pro-Hitler when he won bloodless victories (Rhineland remilitarization in 1936, Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938) which, in the Nazi-induced fog of nationalistic frenzy, seemed to confer benefits on Germany at no cost. Suppose Germany's bloody military defeats turn the pro-Nazis back into anti-Nazis, and suppose a section of the German people sets up a government which is obviously and convincingly democratic. Suppose. Would we follow the Chiang Kai-shek prescription and change our treatment of Germany, or would we, like Nazis, insist that blood and race make all Germans incorrigibly bad?

Not all good Germans left Germany in 1848; some couldn't get out. Even Lord Vansittart says, "I have taken the percentage of good Germans at 25." Maybe it is 20, maybe 30. Whatever the percentage, the conclusion is clear: the "good Germans" must be helped to gain and keep power. The bad Germans must be denied access to power.

"We British ourselves derive in large measure from the same Teutonic stock" as the Germans, writes the celebrated British historian, G. P. Gooch, in an attack on Vansittartism. If all Germans are incurable savages and villains, what about the great numbers of civilized liberal Americans of German descent? American environment changed them? Then perhaps the task of the peacemakers is to create a new German environment.

WHY GERMAN DEMOCRACY FAILED

Germany recently conducted a full-scale experiment in democracy. Between 1919 and 1932, but particularly until 1929, Germany was a democracy with broad public support, real freedom of speech, assembly, and worship, vibrant parliamentary government (except for short lapses toward the end), vigorous trade unions, a great flowering of art and culture, free elections, and—between 1924 and 1929—considerable prosperity based on foreign borrowing. The Weimar Republic did not disrupt the peace of Europe.

In the end, the democratic forces of Germany proved too weak. The reasons? The feudal, militaristic, monopolistic elements in Germany were never deprived of their power for evil. The democrats were timid, Fabian, and usually non-violent. Despite adequate justification (the 1920 Kapp putsch, for instance) the republic did not stamp out the Junker estate owners, the Prussian army caste, the industrial trusts, or the unregenerate Kaiser-loving bureaucracy. These groups had made the First World War, using Wilhelm II as their instrument. Later they made the Second World War as Hitler's eager partners.

Those who would point a finger of scorn at vacillating, inadequate German democrats might do well to take a look at other democracies; they would observe a similar phenomenon. The Spanish Republicans were true democrats if there ever were any—and Teutonic blood in Spain is negligible. Did they, between 1931 and 1936, smash the militaristic, land-owning, pro-fascist monarchists who were all the time preparing the overthrow of the republic? In France democracy was a treasured right. Yet France succumbed in 1940 through the sins of its appeasing, anti-Popular-Front pro-

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Nazis, who had operated in the open for many years. How successful are American democrats today in eradicating racial discrimination, the anti-labor lobby, the sinister might of the cartels, the influence of certain elements of the Catholic church in politics, and other factors which are a threat to American democracy? Those who blame the failure of German democracy on some frailty or special quirk of German nature are, in effect, saying, "It can't happen here," although it has happened in many "heres."

The collapse of the Weimar Republic was part of a world process which transcends race, love of uniforms, and love of discipline and regimentation. National characteristics do count, and they presumably accelerated Germany's descent into the totalitarian abyss. But the German reactionaries had to wait for their real opportunity until the world economic depression hit Germany in 1930. Fear of inflation, physical distress, six million unemployed, and the drying up of foreign credits reduced the political weight of the left and enabled the enemies of democracy to offer Hitler as a super-nationalist messiah.

The German problem is part of the world problem and can only be solved as part of the world problem. This world is at war because it was sick, and not because Germany alone was sick. Fascism is a universal disease which halts before no barriers of race or geography. It has attacked Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Greece, several Latin American states, and numerous Americans who vote in democratic elections. Fascism has taken particularly brutal forms in Germany. But dictatorship everywhere is brutal.

Before this war all major dictatorships engaged in aggression. Only dictatorships engaged in aggression. No democracy engaged in aggression. The road to peace is through universal democracy. Democracy, however, must be fortified by the elimination of the factors that have caused it to crumble under the assaults of totalitarianism. This poses a problem which includes but is much larger than the German problem. Germany cannot solve its economic, social, and political problems without reference to the outside world. No nation can.

This is the answer to those who cry, Ruin Germany. Robert Menzies, the former Prime Minister of Australia, says, "We cannot have a prosperous world if Germany is in a state of disorder and poverty or if Japan is excluded from international economic and political relations" (*PM*, February 3, 1944). Foreign Secretary Eden said on July 29, 1941, "A starving and bankrupt Germany in the midst of Europe would poison all of us who are her neighbors. That is not sentiment. That is common sense." In other words, what we do to others we likewise do to ourselves.

The advocates of a "Germany Must Be Destroyed" policy recall that after the punitive Carthaginian peace the world had no trouble from Carthage. No, but plenty of trouble from Rome. In other words, what kind of Europe, what kind of world will the peace terms produce?

Within six years of the Kaiser's complete surrender, Russia was helping Germany to rearm, America was putting Germany back on its economic feet, and Britain was shielding Germany against French vengeance. They did so, not because they loved Germany more, but because the Versailles settlement soon became an embarrassment to their own national interests. The peace settlement must be devised not with an eye only on the third or fifth year after the war. For five or ten years after this war there will be peace, peace through exhaustion. In this early period, therefore, punitive measures will be least needed. Yet psychologically it is the period in which the victors are most likely to undertake punitive action. A reasonable approach to the peace would require the victorious powers to devote, say, the first five or eight post-war years to removing the causes of war. If that fails, they could subject Germany to strict control. Instead, we may do just the opposite: we may sit tightly on a prostrate, semi-ruined Germany and find that it gets us nowhere. Then we may tire of the modern Catoism which is Vansittartism and look around for a cure.

The peace settlement should be so framed that its creators will wish to apply it not only in the red heat of hate immediately after the war but also in the cool light of reason a decade later. In launching and maintaining Britain's policy of appeasement, Prime Ministers Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain were able to exploit the shame which countless decent Englishmen felt toward their own handiwork, the Versailles peace system. So many Britons regarded the separation of Danzig and Austria from Germany, the creation of the Polish Corridor, and the demilitarization of the Rhineland as sins against Germany and Europe that they could not rouse themselves to oppose Hitler when he proceeded to scrap those arrangements. No Carthaginian peace that causes prolonged privation and suffering to millions of persons yet unborn when Hitler became history's ugliest marauder will find permanent justification in the eyes of the civilized world. The peacemakers must see their work in terms of 1960 and beyond.

One final comment on the Ruin Germany doctrine: To blame only Germany means that nobody else is to blame and therefore everything will be all right with the world after Germany is punished. Vansittartism is a plea for the status quo. In the mouth of a conservative the condemnation of Germany alone is really a defense of the existing social and economic systems in the democracies. If Germany is remolded by the victors while the rest of the world remains unchanged, we might as well start preparing for the Third World War.

REEDUCATION BY DEFEAT

What, then, is to be done with Germany?

The proposals heard in various quarters can be grouped under the headings of Reeducation, Disarmament, Dismemberment, and Economic Controls.

Reeducation of the German people by foreign teachers and foreign textbooks and curricula is arrogant nonsense. It would never work even if Germany were crushed and controlled. Germans, even in defeat, would no more submit to foreign schooling than would the citizens of Iowa or California. Bayonets will not make children study.

To reeducate German children, mentally to "delouse" them, in Jan Masaryk's phrase, it is necessary, first, to have a new, anti-Nazi German political regime, for it is the political regime of a country that runs the schools. Secondly, the social and economic environment in Germany must be altered. Children mirror their schools, their environment, and their parents. They cannot change their parents, but their parents

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can be changed. Germany's parents and Germany's children are being changed and reeducated every day. They were reeducated last night and the night before—by bombs instead of by books.

At his press conference in New York on August 27, 1943, Brendan Bracken, Britain's Minister of Information, referred to Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur T. Harris, head of the R.A.F. Bomber Command, as Germany's "best educator." Predicting intensified raids, Mr. Bracken stated that Germans "are going to get such a dose in the next months that a lot of people in Germany are going to believe there is a great deal of soundness in the Quaker religion." Bombs, in other words, can make pacifists out of Germans.

I first went to Germany in 1921 and lived there for years thereafter. The defeat of the Kaiser's Germany had made "Quakers" of millions of Germans. In the 20's the most popular slogan in numerous German street demonstrations was "Nie Wieder Krieg," Never Another War. Defeat a second time, at stupendous cost in lives and wealth, may teach the bulk of the German nation that war does not pay. I think it is conceivable that Germany will become a pacifist country after its complete military defeat by the United Nations. This result would be contingent, however, on the ability of the people to depose their war-making caste. The victorious Allies could help Germany do that; they might also prevent it.

Russia is administering the most impressive program of German reeducation. The greatest single fact of this war is the emergence of Russia as a mighty fighting nation. To Russia's vast spaces and rich man-power resources has now been added the demonstrated capacity to make and use machines. This is an epochal development, and the history lesson has been brought home to every German family in the shape of a dead son or brother, or a maimed father or husband or uncle. It has been burned into Germany's flesh and brain that there is a new Russia.

In the past, when German militarists contemplated a war, they could see the prospect of aggrandizement in Africa and Asia at the expense, chiefly, of England and France, and of expansion in the direction of Russia. The First World War showed that Britain and its allies can bar Germany's path to colonial empire; in "Mein Kampf" and in subsequent speeches Hitler—apt pupil—therefore opposed the quest for overseas colonies. He preferred the Ukraine. Now Russia has showed that Germany cannot have the Ukraine.

Blocked in two wars, Germany may very well realize—at last—that it cannot solve its problems by warlike means. It may therefore not only divest itself of militaristic psychology; it may try to get rid of its militaristic ruling groups. At least, there is a chance that this will happen, and the victors should encourage the change, for it is the best hope of world peace.

What is the outlook for German disarmament?

The Allies partially disarmed their defeated foes after 1918. But they did not disarm Japan and Italy, for Japan and Italy were their friends, partners in the First World War. Japan and Italy were therefore in a position to start this world war—Japan by its aggression in China beginning in 1931, Italy by its adventures in Abyssinia in 1935 and in Spain in 1936. So that it is not enough to disarm your defeated enemies; there is no guaranty that some other nation, not now your enemy, may not start another war. The task of preventing Germany, and Japan, from making another war is really part of a much larger task: preventing anybody from making another war. For what does it profit us if we keep Germany from launching a third global conflict when Exland or Wyland can commit the same crime?

Germany must be disarmed after this war. How? All Germany's available stocks of arms and ammunition will be collected and removed or destroyed. But the world has gaped in astonishment and the Axis has watched with mounting fear as America, caught unprepared for war, rapidly mobilized its industries after Pearl Harbor. Today, lipstick manufacturers are making bullets, toothpaste companies are producing munition fuses, wallpaper factories are turning out cannon shells, furniture workshops are making gliders, picklers of vegetables are stamping airplane parts, and, of course, automobile plants are supplying our armed forces with everything from bombers to jeeps, tanks, and steel helmets.

Will Germany, after disarmament, be allowed to produce baby carriages, telephones, trolley cars, radios? These are surely necessary civilian supplies. The factories that made them could be converted to munitions making. Would Germany be permitted to produce medicines, dyes, paints? Those plants could quickly be transformed into makers of explosives. Assuming Germany's will to rearm, the victors must either occupy and control it forever—for the more prolonged the control the more the Germans will resent it and the greater the need for further control—or it must be ruined industrially and reduced to an economic desert unfit for habitation. This would be disastrous to world prosperity and normal life.

In the modern age the only real way to disarm a country is to kill it or to kill its will to arm.

Germany's disarmament during a period of post-war policing and supervision will smooth the path to the elimination of its feudal, anti-democratic oligarchies that have lived by making and using arms. Will the United Nations encourage that social change? Disarmament would be conclusively effective only if the occupying nations regarded it as part of an economic restratification and social revolution which Germany has needed for a long time.

Mental, social, and physical disarmament would make Germany's dismemberment superfluous; *such* disarmament can be a sufficient guaranty against future wars. However, in any preview of the coming Germany it is better to mix what one would like to see with what is likely to be. We know that dismemberment is under official consideration.

FRONTIERS AND PEACE

Reporting to the House of Commons on February 22, 1944, Prime Minister Churchill, after denying that "the German people will be enslaved or destroyed," stated that the Atlantic Charter does not preclude "territorial transferences or adjustments in enemy territories." It most definitely does. It declares unambiguously that the nations which accepted the Atlantic Charter will seek "no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise," and that they want "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." This means no annexations of

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German or Japanese territory by Poland, China, Russia, or anybody without honest plebiscites. That has now been thrown overboard. There will be territorial amputations of Japan—they were decided upon at Cairo. There will be territorial "transferences" at the expense of Germany—they were decided upon at Teheran; Churchill has said so. In that same report on February 22, 1944, he revealed that at Teheran he had discussed the future of Poland with Stalin. They both felt that Russia should acquire a stretch of Poland. "Marshal Stalin and I," Churchill continued, "also spoke and agreed upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany both in the north and in the west."

Thus Russia's territorial ambitions have made it necessary to scrap the no-annexations provision of the Atlantic Charter. The question is how far the fragmentation of Germany is to go. James B. Reston, London correspondent of the New York *Times*, has twice wired through the British censorship that Russia is asking for Königsberg, the most important city of East Prussia. Will Poland gain East Prussia but without East Prussia's biggest city? Königsberg might then be the Russian "Danzig" in a Polish East Prussia; a short corridor would connect it with Lithuania, which Stalin has publicly demanded. Moreover, Churchill's "in the north and in the west" would also give Poland parts, at least, of Silesia as well as Pomerania to the Oder River. Russia, conceivably, might want the rest of Germany to be undivided, but could England remain indifferent to Russian influence on the Oder? One begins to see the specter of another Versailles Europe.

No man-made frontier is sacrosanct and many frontiers are crazy. But the Atlantic Charter ruled out territorial aggrandizement because new frontiers are likely to be as insane as old ones and to cause as much trouble. The best cure for this age-long European headache is to make frontiers less important by establishing customs unions, abolishing tariffs, allowing visa-less travel, and fitting Europe into an economic and political world unity.

Obviously, however, Germany's frontiers will be altered. How will this process affect Europe and peace? The dismemberment of Germany will start a squabble for the possession or domination of the members. When Prime Minister Jan Smuts anticipates that Russia will become "mistress of Europe," he urges Britain to fortify its own position by forging special ties with the nations of Western Europe. When the Allies take over the Italian fleet, Stalin claims a third of it. This is natural in the present state of international affairs, and it is natural, therefore, to expect that if Russia and Poland attach parts of Germany other nations will covet other parts. The disruption of Germany will accentuate the trend, already clear and disturbing, to divide Europe into rival spheres of influence. If Germany is split up, the British and Russian spheres of influence will be nearer to one another and therefore nearer to conflict.

A united Germany, rehabilitated and reformed, could, on the other hand, prevent east and west from clashing. Germany purged of war criminals, warmongers, and warmakers could stand as a guaranty of European peace. But if Germany were torn asunder, the struggle for control over the parts would last for years, and while it lasted international organization for peace would be an impossibility or a mere formality covering up strife. For even if the competing spheres of influence were plainly demarcated by agreement, the suspicions and tensions and the poisoned rump of Germany between the spheres would not conduce to an atmosphere of peace.

Russia's emergence as a very great power looking and moving westward is the outstanding new fact in European politics. It is sure to arouse hopes among many people. These hopes will arouse fears elsewhere. This situation is already casting its shadow before. Unless Germany continues to exist as a national entity, the situation might easily lead Europe to catastrophe.

The independent existence of the German and Japanese nations would emphasize the necessity of forming an international organization for peace in which they would be integrated and which would endeavor to eliminate the causes of war through social, political, and economic change, whereas the destruction of the defeated enemies would create the illusion that the causes of war had disappeared and that an instrument to prevent war was no longer urgently required.

GERMANY IN THE WORLD REVOLUTION

Finally, what about the economic future of Germany?

The bombings, the huge human and property losses in battle, the physical exhaustion of the population, and the wear and tear on industrial equipment will leave Germany very much weaker after this war. The same is true of Russia's economic system. One of the chief motives behind the drive for a Soviet sphere of influence is Stalin's desire to recruit half of Europe for the task of rebuilding Russia quickly. Russia has lived under an almost uninterrupted strain ever since 1916. The people have showed remarkable endurance, and the country has demonstrated remarkable resilience and powers of recuperation. But the Soviet government, naturally, wishes to shorten the period of suffering and sacrifice during the post-war rehabilitation, and an attempt will be made to orient the economy of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Germany on Russia. An authoritative Moscow economist has already advocated the importation by Russia of millions of German workingmen over an extended term to help rebuild what Germans ravaged. It would not be surprising if Moscow demanded the transfer to Russia of German machinery or of the products of German industry.

Russia's eagerness to control the German economy will grow if the Kremlin discovers even the slightest tendency in England and America to exact political concessions or put political pressure on Russia in return for their participation in Soviet reconstruction. Russia will half encircle Germany after the war by reason of its prestige and influence in Czechoslovakia, its domination over all of Poland, and the acquisition of Lithuania and of bits of East Prussia. Russia can and doubtless will exploit this advantage economically. Those in Western countries who may object to such a development would face two alternatives: (1) ruin German economy so that Russia cannot benefit from it; or (2) find Germany a substitute for the Russian market. The substitute might be markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, or the domestic markets of the United States, Great Britain, and lands on the European continent.

Under Stalin, Russia has moved very far from socialist life. Russian nationalism, pan-Slavism, a state-aided church,

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and separate schools for girls and military schools for boys are not socialism. But economically Russia is more socialized and collectivized than ever. In a number of East European countries farm collectives are sure to be regarded, after the war, as a solution of age-long agrarian problems, and the pull toward state-operated industry will be strong everywhere in Europe, everywhere in the world, in fact.

Germany, accordingly, may become the vast arena of an epochal, decisive struggle between the West, mainly America and Britain, anxious to save Germany from socialism, and Russia, bent on extending the scope of socialist economy.

German interests and German opinions will play a tremendous role in the outcome of this contest. A socialist economy may—we do not quite know—provide jobs for all and economic security. But it creates the likelihood of an omnipotent state in the face of which the individual has no guaranteed rights, no redress, and no personal freedom. After the torments that Europe has undergone in recent years, however, Europeans may choose jobs at the expense of their freedom—unless the democratic system offers both.

To the extent that the people of Germany are permitted any choice in the matter, they will prefer the Russian system if England and America do not, by solving the problems of democracy at home, present an example of something that looks better to Europe than the Russian system. The future of Germany thus depends on the outcome of the world-wide revolution that is rocking the planet. The war and the peace settlement with Germany are parts of this revolution.

[*This is the second of a series of articles on Germany which the Political War Section will publish during coming months. The first, by Fritz Sternberg, appeared on February 12.*]

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

IT IS doubtful that the aerial bombing of Germany has destroyed many buildings whose cultural value was such that they were irreplaceable. The country is not particularly rich in such edifices, and the most valuable are in small cities. However, there has lately been an extremely tragic destruction of cultural buildings of a different kind. In the December 3 attack on Leipzig it appears that the world-famous publishing and printing district of that city was wiped out. Details are mentioned in a letter published by the Swiss *Basler Nachrichten* on January 28:

> The destruction of the Leipzig publishing district can only be compared with the burning of the library of Alexandria. The consequences for scientific and cultural life, not only in Germany but internationally, are in fact incalculable. A great deal of what has been destroyed is altogether irreplaceable, because not only books but standing matrices, blocks, castings, etc., are gone. The shortage of standard scientific works, dictionaries, atlases, textbooks, etc., will soon make itself felt—and not only in Germany. Study and research in the fields of medicine, engineering, and philology will be greatly hindered for a long time to come. The blow is particularly painful for musicians and music lovers. As is well known, parts and scores of virtually the whole of musical literature were published in Leipzig. The majority of the plates have been destroyed.

It is painful to read by way of contrast, in the *Svenska Dagbladet* of February 25, the report of the Swedish embassy that though "most office buildings" in Berlin were damaged, the headquarters of Hitler and Göring—the Reich Chancellery and the Air Ministry—are still standing. And the most prominent monuments of Prussian military glory—the Brandenburger Tor, the Victory Column, and "the Armory," the museum of the Prussian army and its victories—are "completely unscathed."

Among the astonishing stories an American internee at Baden Baden cabled home after his release was one about the excellent food situation in Germany. He was told—he could hardly have observed it himself—that German families always had "plenty of butter on their tables," and no lack of "other fats" and "good white bread."

But on precisely the same day, February 15, the Berlin correspondent of the Swiss newspaper *St. Galler Tagblatt* published a long, thorough analysis of the German food situation. He reported that fats of all kinds—butter, cooking fat, margarine, and oil—are limited to a combined total of 965 grams per person for four weeks—a little more than two pounds. This doesn't make it easy to have "plenty of butter on the table." Even the ration of two pounds for four weeks is not guaranteed. On the contrary, an official proclamation declares that part of the two pounds of "fat" will be replaced by pork meat. And the quality of all fats is miserable. "Margarine smells of fish-oil in the frying pan," wrote the Swiss correspondent:

> People, however, have ceased to be squeamish. Workers steal paraffin oil from the factories to use as salad oil, and gun grease to cook vegetables. It has become necessary to warn publicly against the consumption of industrial fats.

So much for the plenitude of butter. As for the good white bread, it should be noted first of all that Germany has always eaten dark bread. Approximately eighty per cent of the grain grown in the country is rye, not wheat. During the war the bread has grown steadily darker as the rye has been ground more thoroughly and more chaff has got into the flour. But lately a further deterioration has taken place.

> The quality of the bread has become poorer since the proportion of rye flour was raised to 90 per cent last October, the remaining 10 per cent consisting not of wheat but of so-called "bread flour," which is said to contain ground beechnuts and pine bark. There have been some cases of bread poisoning.

In the opinion of the Swiss analyst the civilian population, though not the army, receives less than the physiological minimum requirements:

> The situation has definitely assumed the character of mass undernourishment. This has led to symptoms of exhaustion in the working population, which business is trying to combat by distributing large quantities of vitamin tablets. There is also some talk about supplementary distribution of calcium preparations. For the time being, however, the only supplementary distribution is of Labor Front leaflets containing the advice to "eat a little something between meals more frequently than usual, in view of the present food situation." Good advice. People are so worn out that they often fall asleep on the way to and from work. And sometimes they suddenly collapse while working and must be carried away.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Lonigan, Lonergan, and New York's Finest

THE New York Police Department may be suffering from a shortage of man-power, but several of its officers had time last week to investigate "Studs Lonigan," a trilogy written by me and published by the Vanguard Press in 1935.

On February 28 two police officers in civilian clothes visited the offices of the Vanguard Press and questioned James Henle, president of the firm. They told him that a complaint charging "Studs Lonigan" with immorality had been received from a woman in Brooklyn—she remains anonymous. They asked routine questions concerning the book—when it was published and how many copies had been sold. Mr. Henle answered these questions as precisely as he could and gave the officers one of the last two office copies of the work, which is temporarily out of stock. He was given to understand that the investigation was merely routine and that nothing more was likely to be heard of it.

Two days later a Sergeant Timothy Sullivan visited the Vanguard Press. He also was investigating "Studs Lonigan" on the same complaint. He asked Mr. Henle the same questions as the other officers had and received the same answers.

It was Sergeant Sullivan who introduced a new note into the proceedings, which indicates that the New York Police Department is short of other things besides man-power. Sergeant Sullivan seemed to be convinced that there was more than a phonetic connection between "Studs Lonigan" and the Lonergan murder case!

Mr. Henle attempted to disabuse the sergeant of this suspicion. He pointed out that neither he nor I had murdered Mrs. Patricia Lonergan but that even if we had it was inconceivable that I could have written and he could have published, in 1935, a book predicting how the murder was to be committed. But this argument, weighty as it seems, was apparently not conclusive. In the course of their talk Mr. Henle went through "Studs Lonigan" with Sergeant Timothy Sullivan, pointing out the titles of the separate volumes of the trilogy: "Young Lonigan," "The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan," and "Judgment Day"; and when they came to the last title, Sergeant Sullivan made a remark to the effect that I had finally got away from the Lonergan case. I do not know whether Sergeant Sullivan has made any further investigation of the suspicious similarity between Lonigan and Lonergan, but at least Mr. Henle and I have not been arrested, as yet, in connection with the sensational murder.

On March 4 another police officer, in uniform, visited the Vanguard Press. In the absence of Mr. Henle he questioned an employee of the firm. He asked essentially the same old questions and received the same answers. He, however, did not mention the Lonergan case.

On the same day a police squad car stopped in front of the Sutton Manor Book Shop, a small bookstore and rental library on First Avenue near Fifty-third Street. One of the two officers in the car asked Mrs. Mitchell Kennerley, the owner of the shop, if she had a copy of "Studs Lonigan." She said that it was temporarily out of stock but that she could furnish other books of mine. They were interested only in "Studs Lonigan." According to the New York *Times* reporter who interviewed Mrs. Kennerley, the officer said he was making a literary survey. Also either he or his fellow-officer made some remark about the Lonergan case.

As long as the police were merely visiting the Vanguard Press neither Mr. Henle nor I did anything about their investigation. However, when we received definite evidence that bookstores were also being visited we released the story to the press. It was printed in the New York *Times* and mentioned in radio broadcasts. But when reporters made inquiries at the New York Police Department, officials professed to be ignorant of the matter. No order, it was said, had been given for such an investigation. One newspaper was even told that the Sutton Manor Book Shop had not been visited, although Mrs. Kennerley and at least one witness, a soldier, confirmed the story of the visit. It is hardly likely that the imposing figure of an officer in uniform, which two people assert they saw, was merely a ghost.

The investigation of "Studs Lonigan" will undoubtedly go no farther. But the New York Police Department should explain this fantastic foray. If the investigation was merely routine, why were so many presumably busy officers detailed to it in the course of a week? And how was it possible for their superiors to know nothing about it? What or who was behind it?

Whatever the answers may be, the intimidation implicit in the behavior of the police is obvious. It is significant that they chose to visit, not large book shops or department stores where "Studs Lonigan" is also on sale, but a small bookstore which would be least able to defend itself in case of a raid and prosecution on charges of obscenity—if that was what the police contemplated.

For all its Gilbert and Sullivan trappings, this latest police investigation of a serious book is far from funny.

JAMES T. FARRELL

The Balkans

THE LONG BALKAN NIGHT. By Leigh White. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

I BELIEVE that Mr. White has written the best book on the Balkans to appear during this war. The intelligence and feeling with which he writes about that important part of the world have aroused not a little nostalgia in one who was a Balkan correspondent for eighteen years. And the fact that I was able to recognize almost every person that he describes is a measure of the truthfulness and accuracy of his reporting. The Hungarian newspaperman must have been so-and-so; the British secret agent with the Czechoslovak passport who died in a concentration camp of the Gestapo

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used to come to the cafe table of the American journalists in Vienna; the hotel porter of the Serbski Kral in Belgrade and the figures in the Athenee Palace in Bucharest were all living persons whom I had met and would have recognized even if Mr. White had omitted their names.

Because it is so excellent a book, I regret that it must overcome two handicaps if it is to have the wide reading it deserves. It appears three years after the events it describes, and it was preceded two years ago by another dramatic description of the same region, Robert St. John's "From the Land of the Silent People." St. John is the better writer; but White has a much clearer understanding of the problems of the Balkans. St. John, of course, made no pretense of being more than a reporter. Leigh White tries to explain to us the intricate political, ethnographic, and linguistic problems of this most heterogeneous and tradition-bound part of the world. He spent only two years in the Balkans but he learned an amazing amount, and the record of his conversations with politicians, statesmen, secret agents, newspapermen, soldiers, and workers in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece are most revealing.

He exposes the various fascist and Nazi spies and "collaborationists," and from his book I learned what became of some of the people who shadowed the foreign correspondents in the various countries. One of these was Louis Matzhold. In 1937 the Associated Press was using Matzhold as one of its local correspondents in Vienna. Liberal-minded American correspondents suspected Matzhold of being a spy of the Gestapo and resented his connection with the A. P. since it gave him entry into our midst. Now White reports that "it was long before we discovered that Heinrich Himmler had appointed Matzhold chief of the Hungarian section of the Gestapo. Soon afterward it became impossible for American journalists to work in Budapest (our telephone service was always interrupted). . . ." And this man was employed as a paid assistant by a leading American news agency!

Mr. White relates simply and effectively his experiences in the various bombed Balkan capitals. He was always accompanied by Maricruz, a Spanish loyalist refugee who became his wife. Apparently her spirit deeply affected his thinking.

His book is imbued with a truly liberal spirit. And therefore I was all the more interested to note that this man who raps the Magyar fascists, the Rumanian Nazis, the Greek king and his Metaxist friends, takes an attitude toward the Yugoslav situation which is different from the accepted liberal view in this country. On the basis of his experience he warns us that the present Yugoslav division is not a simple ideological rift but also a Serb-Croat feud, and he comes to the conclusion that only a federal solution can save Yugoslavia. He also disagrees with Louis Adamic that "sovietization" is the "only alternative to the disreputable dynasties of which our Metternichs of the State Department and Foreign Office are apparently so enamored." He is not convinced that Russian imperialism would be any more acceptable to the Balkan peoples than the Anglo-Saxon variety.

Mr. White's book is readable, truthful, liberal, courageous, and sincere. And the American public should read it, for though the events it covers occurred three years ago, the problems it discusses are those of tomorrow.

M. W. FODOR

What Is Faith?

THE PRIMACY OF FAITH. By Richard Kroner. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IN THESE days when there is much loose talk about the duty of religion to save the world, it clears the air to have some informed discussion of theology. Not that the nineteenth century wasted its time criticizing dogma and revelation, or that we must undo its work; simply that by now the stripping process has reached the core of any articulate faith and destroyed it. People can talk of religion and mean nothing in particular except the opposite of a widespread suspicion of belief. Compared with some religious enthusiasts of today, Rousseau's Savoyard Vicar would sound like a hair-splitting scholastic and Matthew Arnold would be accounted a precisian.

Fortunately, the Gifford Lectures, founded half a century ago with a "scientific aim" in view, continue to create occasions for reflective thought on matters religious and even theological. Inspired by the task of giving these lectures, Professor Niebuhr prepared his monumental "Nature and Destiny of Man," and shortly before, Professor Richard Kroner, formerly of Kiel and now of Union Theological Seminary, delivered the substance of the present volume, "The Primacy of Faith."

Mr. Kroner starts with the traditional inquiry, Can we know divinity, and if so, how? He shows in rapid order the limitations of a natural theology and the impossibility of a rational faith, even when the rationalism is that of Kant, who transferred the reason of faith from the theoretical to the practical realm. There is a gap, according to Professor Kroner, between any knowledge we may have of nature and the knowledge we may hope to have of God. But that gap cannot be filled by an act of pure will, amounting to a determination that there *shall be* a God.

Faith alone can bridge that gap. Very well; so much is traditional, but what is faith? Professor Kroner answers, it is the act of the religious imagination. "Imagination," he says, "binds together what the thinking mind separates; or more precisely, it maintains the original unity." That unity in man can be analyzed into soul, mind, body. In universal terms, it is nature, reason, and God. God and the soul are mysteries which only the imagination—and Mr. Kroner is not afraid to name the poet as the true describer of the unity of life—can grasp and possess without resolving. "Therefore, faith is necessarily imaginative."

This again is traditional, but in another sense. It belongs to the grand nineteenth-century tradition. With all its rationalism, naturalism, higher criticism, and agnosticism, the nineteenth century seldom failed to recognize the role of intuition, springing from reason, which was its characteristic discovery after the excessive simplicities of the previous age. After Rousseau came Hegel and Coleridge; after them Kierkegaard, William James, and Samuel Butler hung on to the central perception that life is an element, inevitably destroyed by analysis. Imagination for them was the faculty of keeping together the inner and the outer aspects of a single fact. What this implies as to religious beliefs and practices is another question, yet a question that cannot be touched until this fundamental premise is either adopted or

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rejected. Professor Kroner addresses himself to the task of persuading us to adopt it; he argues its congeniality with the nature of man and its fruitfulness for man, without, however, meeting the pragmatists more than halfway. But he is uncompromising in his insistence on restricting reason to its proper sphere. He thus occupies a middle position between Kant and James along one diagonal, and between Hegel and Kierkegaard along the other.

His book, particularly after the opening chapter, is compactly and lucidly written, in a tone pleasantly modest yet sufficiently affirmative. It puts the question of a faith for moderns in clear technical terms. What it calls for, by way of supplement, is a full historical account, in equally clear descriptive words, of the wanderings of the religious spirit since Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection."

JACQUES BARZUN

The War: GHQ and GI

TARAWA. THE STORY OF A BATTLE. By Robert Sherrod. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.

D DAY. WHAT PRECEDED IT; WHAT FOLLOWED. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. $3.

THE CURTAIN RISES. By Quentin Reynolds. Random House. $2.75.

ALTHOUGH they might not relish the remark, both John Gunther and Quentin Reynolds belong to the older generation of war correspondents; their reputations were well established before the United States entered the war. Because of their status they don't have to perform the grubby tasks that befall the spot-news reporters who must stick with the troops month in and month out. Reynolds flits about for *Collier's* to any place he thinks a big story will break. Gunther, interrupting his broadcasting, popped over for ten weeks last summer to have a look at the war. Less celebrated correspondents who have yet to establish their reputations do not enjoy such professional luxury.

The result is that Gunther and Reynolds devote a good deal of space to being entertaining about a war which they thoroughly enjoy. They tell what they ate and drank in odd corners of the earth, and they talk about all the famous people—whom they call by their first names—that they ran across in unexpected places. To them the war takes on certain aspects of a gay, mobile Stork Club. Mr. Reynolds especially reminds one of an Elsa Maxwell at the front.

Mr. Gunther's book is not all cakes and ale, for he has genuine zeal to find out what's going on, and he works hard at it. His picture of General Eisenhower before and during the descent on Sicily is illuminating. Eisenhower's modesty seemed genuine; that is, he had none of that grotesque MacArthurian yen for self-advertisement which so often overtakes generals who have lived in peace-time obscurity all their lives and suddenly find themselves pitched into the big headlines. Eisenhower had a deeper wisdom; he realized that his principal public-relations task was to overcome the centrifugal psychological forces which so often make allies fly apart. He insisted on intertwining Americans and Britons in the command organization in order to weave the two nationalities into a single fighting force. Perhaps that awareness is one reason why Eisenhower was selected to be the first general since the Middle Ages to attempt the spanning of that momentous moat the English Channel.

Mr. Gunther also picked up some nuggets about the situation in Germany's Balkan satellites—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary. The Nazis have not occupied them extensively, and they are free to the extent that they read many copies of Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down." The people of these nations which are fighting the Allies hope for an Allied victory, to save them from (a) their ally, Germany; and (b) Russia. Their governments, however, hesitate to desert the Axis because Hitler has shrewdly shifted Balkan boundaries to keep them in line.

In a sense war correspondents not only record contemporary history but also influence the course of events. Their opinions help to form the mental paths of many persons in the United States. However transitory their books may be, it is a healthy sign that both Gunther and Reynolds have a liberal outlook which may leaven the views of stay-at-homes. Gunther in particular thinks along the same lines as Leland Stowe—that the war should be an upheaval that will make men freer throughout the world, and not just an imperialist scramble.

Correspondents also shape events because, in their capacity as the eyes of the people at home, they are partly responsible for American morale. In this respect some of the work being done by the newer generation of war correspondents may be more useful than the chatty product of the Gunther-Reynolds school. The men who are now building their reputations are apt to have more contacts with G. I. than with G. H. Q. Take, for instance, the tough, realistic account of Tarawa by Robert Sherrod, a *Time* reporter. In his book war is not pretty, not fun. Here is the whistling of shells, and the ghastly smell of the dead. One sees how young Americans behave in their last hours of life. This is about as near as you can get, in an armchair, to being in the midst of battle.

On the way to Tarawa the officers and men talked themselves into thinking the conquest would be a cinch; it might take a few hours, or maybe the Japanese had fled entirely as they had from Kiska. But Tarawa turned out to be the bloodiest battle in the history of the Marine Corps. The first thing that went wrong was the failure of the Higgins landing boats to surmount the offshore coral reef. That meant the men had to wade ashore a distance of three or four city blocks under machine-gun fire. The Japanese still were present and alive on Tarawa and scarcely hurt by our inadequate plane and sea bombardment. Mr. Sherrod waded in with the second wave and saw men hit all around him. The assault battalions were knocked to pieces in the landing; perhaps a third of their officers and men were casualties. The Americans who did reach the beach established themselves on a few yards of sand between the sea wall and the water. At first they huddled under the sea wall. Gradually they became accustomed to death and walked upright; then they swarmed over the sea wall to kill the Japanese that were killing them. They took Tarawa, although the Japanese had thought a million men couldn't do it.

Mr. Sherrod is bitter about soft, pleasant accounts of the war. Such stories "gave the impression that any American

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is your boy out there . . .

in the land of blood and tears?

IS he slogging along some muddy road . . . or huddled beneath a leaky tent? Do you see him now, thirsty beneath a broiling sun?

Or is your boy fighting a wintry blast in the land where winter never ends? . . . Yes, millions of people worry tonight for the men in the lands that God forgot.

But if your heart is sick with longing for some special boy . . . remember this and find comfort . . . wherever he may be, in the frozen wastes of Iceland or the jungles of New Guinea . . . you can reach out and give your boy some little comforts that speak of home.

He will get coffee, doughnuts and other American comforts when the long march is over . . . thanks to you.

He will sleep between sheets when he gets his furlough, in a town ten thousand miles from home . . . thanks to you. Even should he be a prisoner of war, he won't be condemned to live on alien bread. For every week the Red Cross will carry to him a carton of food. Yes, eleven full pounds of real American food, the kind you used to give him at your own table. And real American cigarettes and tobacco!

He will get all this . . . and more . . . straight from *your* heart through the Red Cross.

Because the Red Cross is *you*—the Greatest Mother in the World, because it represents all the mothers of America. The Red Cross is your blood and your bandages, the sweaters you knit and the gifts you pack.

And the Red Cross is your money too! This year when your Red Cross has a bigger job than ever before to do . . . this year when your Red Cross is serving your own sons in every corner of the globe . . . this year you will want to give more, more of your time, more of your work, the blood from your heart . . . and more of your money to help the work go on.

GIVE TO THE RED CROSS

So dig deep and be glad. For wherever he is

The RED CROSS is at his side
and the Red Cross is YOU!

This space contributed by The Publisher of THE NATION

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could lick any twenty Japs." They may have impressed folks back home, "but they sometimes did not impress the miserable, bloody soldiers in the front lines where the action had taken place." Many Americans, he says, "have not been prepared psychologically to accept the cruel facts of war." He tells of a bomber pilot who went home on leave: " 'When I told my mother what the war was really like, and how long it was going to take, she sat down and cried.' "

Mr. Sherrod tells what the war is really like.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH neither its theme nor its setting is new to fiction, Lillian Smith's first novel, "Strange Fruit" (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75), is a newly moving and unusual book. There is something very comforting in the single-mindedness with which we are in the habit of approaching the "Negro problem," but Miss Smith is anything but comforting or single-minded. In her hands the Negro problem turns out to be not only the problem of the whole South but, by implication, of all modern society. To say, for instance, that "Strange Fruit" anatomizes a small Georgia town at the end of the last war would be to regionalize and to particularize in time a social study which is applicable to any number of other American communities and moments; or to say that Miss Smith's book is concerned with racial conflicts would be to ignore her knowledge that in the degree that race is set against race, man is set against himself. "Strange Fruit" is so wide in its human understanding that its Negro tragedy becomes the tragedy of anyone who lives in a world in which minorities suffer; when it ends in a lynching, we are as sorry and frightened for the lynchers as for the victim. Indeed, we are terrified, for ourselves, at the realization that this is what we have made of our human possibility—a rare effect for the problem novel to produce. Yet Miss Smith's novel is no more than a problem novel; it is simply a very good one.

Of all race situations, I suppose the situation of miscegenation is the touchiest. Even the liberal Northern imagination shrinks from the question, "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" and I think it took special courage and passion for Miss Smith to hang her novel on the main thread of the love of a white boy and a colored girl. However, Tracy Dean is not the usual scion of Southern aristocratic blood that is running thin; he is the son of the rather nice white doctor of the town, and if he is weak, it is because it served his mother's complicated emotional needs to make him weak. Nor is Nonnie Anderson the conventional high-spirited Negro girl; she is college-educated and refined, by *her* mother's excessive pride, beyond the point where she can ever hope to find a workable way of life in a bigoted society. Perhaps, that is, these two people are doomed even apart from the question of their marriage. They never do marry, of course; and Miss Smith knows they never could marry; actually she never says they should marry. Yet as their love story unfolds, the issue forces itself upon us: why in the world can they not marry? What is this difference in color which is admittedly no bar to love but so unassailably a bar to marriage? And even our vaunted Northern liberalism begins to look unpleasantly like hypocrisy.

Indeed, the prime merit of Miss Smith's novel is that it refuses to give quarter to an easy tolerance. It would be a very complacent Northerner who could take any real comfort from the fact that "Strange Fruit" is a novel about the South. Sam, Miss Smith's Negro doctor, is at some pains to explain that there are some nice white people in Maxwell, Georgia, too; among them he specifies Mr. Harris, owner of the sawmill and one of the town's most substantial citizens. Well, Mr. Harris is a liberal and he risks his life to try to save the Negro who is being lynched. But it is also Mr. Harris who never pays quite as much as the union scale, and some of his underpaid workers are of the lynching party; Mr. Harris is also strong in support of a church which not only blinks at lynching but considers itself above saving black souls in the same revival tent with white. Clearly "Strange Fruit" is concerned with contradictions, within any one person and within the social group, which have their parallels above the Mason and Dixon Line and in fields other than those of racial conflict.

Just as the town of Maxwell is divided between its colored section and its white section, Miss Smith's story divides itself between its white characters and its colored characters. But I think Miss Smith does a better creative job with her white people than with her Negroes. In conflict with each other, or in family or affectional relationships, her Negroes carry great psychological conviction, but when Miss Smith is inside their minds or trying to characterize them as personalities, they tend to fade or fall into stereotypes. It is a common failing in books about Negroes by white people. With the best will, it seems to be impossible for a member of the dominant group to imagine the way of thinking and feeling of a people who for so many generations have been taught to hide their thinking and feeling.

It was an odd experience to read Ramón J. Sender's "Chronicle of Dawn" (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50) in the same week with "Strange Fruit." Miss Smith's book so bravely rushes head-on into the tragic confusions of modern life, and Mr. Sender's book so tragically turns its back on the world. Written in the first person, "Chronicle of Dawn" purports to be the diary of a Spanish Loyalist dying in a French concentration camp; because there is no longer any hope for his side, Pepe has refused rescue, and he spends his last days recalling his childhood. But it is only a very short period of his boyhood that he records—the few months, when he was ten, in which he learned to love the girl whom he evidently still loves and in which he also learned the meaning of heroism. And no doubt Mr. Sender intends that this connection between love and heroism as well as the meaning of his hero's self-willed death shall be explained by this brief reminiscence. However, they are not explained, and the inclusion of a long parable of heroism makes the explanation only the more obscure; at its supposedly most meaningful moments I found "Chronicle of Dawn" least revealing. And even as a straight recollection of a Spanish boyhood, Pepe's reminiscence, for all Mr. Sender's good prose, was marred for me by the fatal coyness with which Mr. Sender reproduces the mind of a ten-year-old.

DIANA TRILLING

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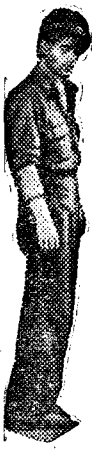

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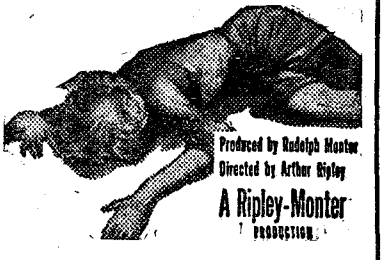

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IN BRIEF

NEWS OF THE NATION: A NEWSPAPER HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Sylvan Hoffman, editor, and C. Hartley Grattan, associate editor. Foreword by Allan Nevins. Garden City Publishing Company. $3.49.

Witchcraft Deaths Rise to Nineteen, Zenger Vindicated by Jury in Free Press Test Case, Hanging Ends Kidd's Career—these are sample headlines culled at random from this fascinating file of forty-one issues of tabloid history, starting with Columbus Discovery Rocks Continent and ending with the attack on Pearl Harbor. As a device for making the learning of history attractive, this is one that depends overwhelmingly on its execution. Fortunately the ingenuity, intelligence, and accuracy with which the project has been carried out are fully equal to the objective. Students will find in these papers, which presumably will be issued to them one by one, not only an exciting and journalistic running account of the principal developments of American history, but a wealth of absorbing detail on the art, styles, books, and social by-play of each period as well. The death of Wild Bill Hickok, the establishment of the first soda fountains, and the founding of the *Police Gazette* are the sort of items that give "News of the Nation" a richness not to be found in the conventional history text. Controversial matters are ably handled in editorials and cartoons, the illustrative material is amusing, and the spirit of contemporary excitement has been so effectively caught that you are sure to come away from this file as indignant over the steal of the election of 1876 as over the steal of the soldier vote in 1944.

THE FRENCH RIGHT AND NAZI GERMANY, 1933-1939: A STUDY OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Charles A. Micaud. Duke University Press. $3.50.

It is a great pity that the educated public has such a horror of scholarly books. Here, with the learned apparatus of a thesis, and in a spirit of scientific research, is a study which tells us more about the downfall of France than all the backstairs gossip about Madame Hélène de Portes. Dr. Micaud's findings are summed up in this sentence: "In their eyes [the rightists'] domestic and foreign policy could no longer be separated; victory over Italy, over the rebels in Spain, even over Germany, meant to them a victory of the working classes in France and of Soviet Russia in Europe, and this victory had to be opposed whatever the effect upon national security." In terse and familiar terms: "Rather Hitler than Blum!" It is the knell of nationalism, in the country and in the class where nationalism had once been most ardently supported. The danger of an ideological conflict is not over, as Dr. Micaud warns us in his closing sentence. All earnest students of European affairs will need this quietly vigorous book: I am not prophesying extensive sales. It ought to be required reading for the Big Four: "Et nunc, Reges, intelligite; erduimini, qui judicatis terram."

GREAT AMERICAN PAINTINGS: FROM SMIBERT TO BELLOWS, 1729-1924. By John Walker and Macgill James. Oxford University Press. $5.

The twenty-page introduction to this book of fine black-and-white reproductions (the few in color are of uncertain quality and mar the effect of the whole) provides a résumé of the history of American painting that is all the more illuminating because it is biased. The main line, the authors say, has been a particularly uncompromising and native kind of realism. Consequently, the early Copley, Stuart, Sully, Homer, Eakins, and Bellows are allotted the greatest space, while Whistler, Cassatt, and Sargent are the only non-realists in this sense to receive more than two plates each. And of course, Ryder. But Blakelock is not represented at all, nor Newman, nor the Hudson River and the panoramic schools. And only one of Washington Allston's canvases is reproduced. The authors push their thesis a little too far.

FILMS

ALTHOUGH it lasts just nineteen minutes, "With the Marines at Tarawa" gave me, in that time, a sharper realization of combat than any other film I have seen. I also respected its craftsmanship and its taste, barring an ill-timed utterance of the line "their lives mean nothing to them" while the camera is examining Japanese corpses. It interests me that color, so harmless to musical fantasies and so generally fatal to films which deal, even nominally, with peace-time realism,

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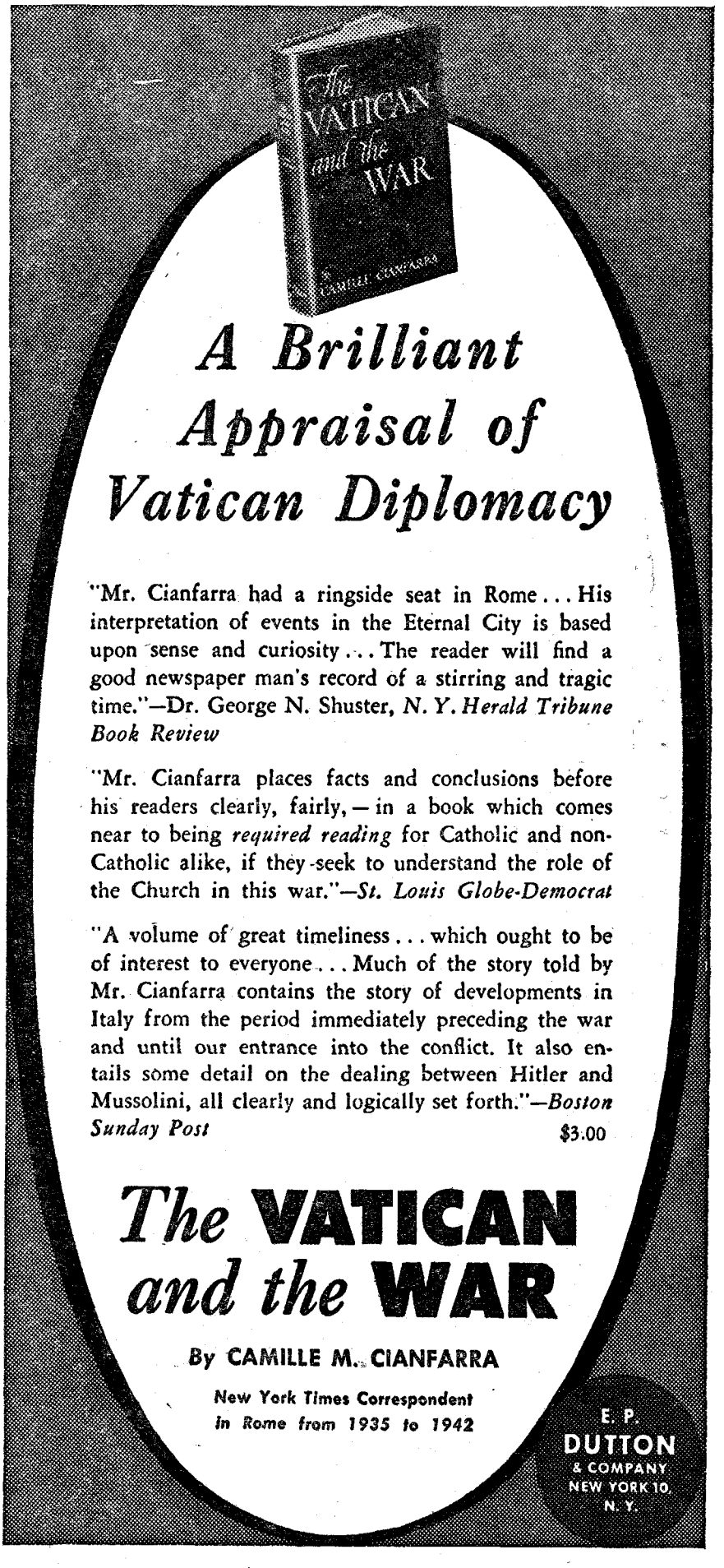
adds a lot to the power and immediacy of these war scenes. A man who was at Tarawa tells me that it is impossible to duplicate the sounds of such an operation, and that with such material as was photographed, the editors have pulled no punches, as I suspected they might have; the cameras simply failed to get down some of the things we read of in the newspapers. This eyewitness—he was a correspondent there—thought the picture a good job but was, I could see, a little amused that it had moved and excited me so intensely. I don't wonder he was. But I think it can be highly recommended to anyone who, like myself, needs to diminish so far as he can the astronomical abyss which exists between the experienced and the inexperienced in war. The faces of individual marines, at the end, are even more humbling and more instructive than the worst of the records of combat.

"See Here, Private Hargrove" suffers a proper disadvantage, compared with "Tarawa." It is callow, puppyish, whimsically amusing—to those who can easily swallow that contradiction—and uninterested in telling the truth even about training. Taken within its own modest comic intentions it is harmless enough, I suppose, and reasonably entertaining—it may perhaps genuinely amuse men in training camps—and there are good performances by Bill Phillips and Keenan Wynn. But there is something unpleasantly cuddly about it—a sort of cross between "Stalky" and the pansy-truck-driver sort of *New Yorker* humor.

"Voice in the Wind," a heartfelt shoestring quickie shot in thirteen days, is a pretty awful moving picture, I realize, but I was touched by its sincerity and by a number of things in it, and was sympathetically interested in a good deal more. It is being advertised as "a strange new kind of moving picture," and that makes me realize, as the excitement over the "originality" of "Citizen Kane" used to, that already I belong to a grizzling generation. The picture is like a middle-thirties French melodrama drenched in the Rembrandt-and-molasses manner of German "art" films of the early to middle twenties. Even within those terms it is much less good than it might be, solemn, unimaginative, thinly detailed; but it is also richly nostalgic if you have any affection for bad period art. (I have an idea that the less discriminating among the German refugees will go crazy over it.) Also I enjoyed hearing a piece of Chopin played without interruption and with appropriate oversensitivity, while the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tragedy came to a standstill, sniffling and wiping its eyes. It takes a lot of anti-commercial courage to do that in a film; and however wrong most of it goes, "Voice in the Wind" has a great deal of that sort of courage.

"The Impostor" is a piece of anxious manufacture about Jean Gabin as a fugitive killer, masquerading as a Free French hero, in Equatorial Africa. Gabin himself, artificiality and all, is good. The rest of the show sadly proves just how nearly possible it is to make a French film in Hollywood, or anywhere else except France. JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

WHAT the advocates of opera in English want, and what the Metropolitan failed to achieve with its "Falstaff" in English, the Nine O'Clock Opera Company succeeded in achieving with its performance of Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," which was presented in New York recently in the Town Hall Endowment Fund series: a play on the stage, of which almost every word could be heard, which was therefore completely intelligible and entertaining even to an audience with no advance knowledge of what it was about, and which the engaging members of the company made highly enjoyable. But the cost of this success was even greater losses than those of the Metropolitan's "Falstaff."

The words could be heard and understood so well because the singers were singing in a small hall and had no orchestra between them and the audience, but only an accompanying piano offstage; and the loss of all that the orchestra contributes to "Figaro" was the first musical cost. Then the play was cut down and simplified; and with some of the complications and the characters involved in them there was eliminated some of the music—some rather good music like Bartolo's *La vendetta!* and the first-act Susanna-Marcellina duet. But additional music was eliminated even where characters and action were retained; and this included both of the Countess's great arias, *Porgi amor* and *Dove sono*. And of the music that was retained, what was not slow-moving and large-spanned melody like *Voi che sapete* and *Deh vieni, non tardar* was hurried over in a way that made it ineffective, unclear, difficult for the mind to get hold of—even if this mind were not too concentrated on the quick succession of words to give any attention to the music.

In addition to these musical losses there was one which I pointed out last week. The audience listening to *Non piu andrai* sung in English could hear and understand Figaro's ironic statements to Cherubino. But if his audience had read the English translation in advance and were listening to the aria sung in Italian it would have had not only the same knowledge of what Figaro was saying but the additional enjoyment of the delicious effect, with Mozart's music, of the Italian words and rhymes of *Per montagne, per valloni, Con le nevi e i sollioni, Al concerto di tromboni, Di bombarde, di cannoni, Che le palle in tutti i tuoni.* And this is, of course, only one example of what was true throughout the performance.

At New York's new City Center of Music and Drama I attended the first performance of Bizet's "Carmen." I cannot recall ever having heard the title role sung as beautifully as it was sung by Jennie Tourel—with such loveliness of vocal sound and such musical phrasing. But I also cannot recall anyone whose physical appearance did more damage to her credibility in the role, and who had less sense for the stage with which to overcome that initial handicap. For lack of this sense, which would have built up and projected a continuous line of pose and movement and through this an impression of dramatic character, her impersonation was a collection of discontinuous mannerisms—the traditional Carmen mannerisms, and additional prima donna mannerisms, which were made even more absurd by the absence of the alluring appearance and personality that they presumed.

There was the same contrast between musical excellence and dramatic absurdity in the entire performance. The orchestra was poor; but most of the leading singers—Mario Berini (Jose), Mary Martha Briney (Micaela), Regina Resnick (Frasquita), Rosalind Nadell (Mercedes), but not George Czaplicki (Escamillo)—sang well, except for a few constricted high tones from Berini and Briney; the chorus sang superbly; and Laszlo Halasz conducted very well. On the other hand not even the dignified entrance processions of pot-bellied noblemen and dumpy noble ladies in the Metropolitan's "Lohengrin" and "Tannhäuser" are as funny as what the chorus of women in that "Carmen" performance looked like and did; and even more explosive were the appearance and antics of Resnick and Nadell. Hans Wolmut, the stage director, could not help what these people—and some others—looked like; but he could have controlled what they did. He seems to have set out to think things out freshly—but only half the time; as a result there were some new details of staging that made dramatic sense, along with some of the traditional ones that make no sense at all. The factory girls, for example, came out of the factory in the first act, as they should; but Carmen preserved her right to a prima donna entrance from somewhere in Seville. Or some of the men were provided with a dramatic purpose for being on the stage by being made to pass bales of merchandise from the factory for loading; but one man was allowed to sit at the back of the stage during the Micaela-Jose duet and distract attention by little movements of personal boredom, physical discomfort, and so on. Moreover the identical bales turned up in the third act—most of them borne on bent-over backs, but one of them carried by the string as though it were a birdcage just bought at Macy's.

Virgil Thomson, however, who at times is so much more exacting than I, found the performance "acceptable (by present standards) dramatically." This was in a Sunday article which included some more of his extraordinarily shrewd and well-expressed observations on the Metropolitan—this time on its "repertory out of all proportion to the season's length. . . . No repertory can be effective if it is larger than the plant that houses it can handle in terms of scenery storage, music and stage rehearsals, lighting arrangements, and the regular employment of dependable artists. The Metropolitan has a roster of 106 soloists, some of whom never sing at all and others of whom sing infrequently. This season's repertory includes, to be played within twenty weeks, thirty-one different operas. In addition, it is rarely that all the performances of any opera are given with the same cast that has rehearsed for its opening. This means that nothing is ever properly rehearsed and that nothing ever gets played often enough, once it is produced, to acquire finish." For its twenty weeks, he concludes, the Metropolitan should use a company of fifty resident soloists in no more than twenty works. Sound advice, to which you may be sure the Metropolitan will pay no attention.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Republic Versus Monarchy

Dear Sirs: In his article Legitimism—New Style in your issue of February 19 Professor Vambery expresses the opinion that a modern pretender seeking restoration of his throne was playing upon an "illegitimate legitimism" by trying to enlist the support of the masses through advocating a "peasant and worker state." He states that the pretender would lose the support of the conservative elements and not win that of those who stand for agrarian reform. How does he know? A situation is quite conceivable wherein the conservative elements might consider themselves entirely lost unless ceding the bulk of their rights and privileges, and wherein the masses might prefer a "moderator" to being left at the mercy of all sorts of right or left pressures. Masses are sometimes very reluctant to assume the responsibility and self-sacrifice of leadership. Karl Marx knew this as his correspondence proves, but some modern liberals seem to be blissfully unaware of the fact.

I am amazed that nobody ever seems to consider the possibility of just everybody in Europe being deadly tired of fighting after the war. Old loyalties may suddenly prove extremely strong, attractive, and convincing. Symbols of the past like the double eagle which Professor Vambery not very delicately calls an "ambiguous bird" might be unexpectedly powerful. Nostalgia for things past is also a political force, little as some historians seem to admit it. While the old leaders of the masses may still consider the question of republic versus monarchy a question of principle—in spite of the fact that the Social Democratic parties in monarchies have fared better than in most republics—the masses themselves may feel quite differently. They may agree with the (certainly not reactionary) "Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" and consider the form of government one of convenience. Neither the republican nor the monarchical form of government is in itself reactionary or progressive. Both have shown great elasticity. I certainly need not cite examples to prove my point. It would therefore be as well for people, if they are Europeans, to cease to brand the ghost of 1848, and if they are Americans, to identify every king with George III. After all, we find, for instance, among the Hapsburgs, Joseph II, the only revolutionary emperor the Western world has ever seen, and among the British rulers not every king was a George III. And even he did not look exactly as ugly to the British as to the Americans. The whole idea of identification of monarchy with reaction and clericalism or even fascism belongs to the dustbin and is unworthy of any conscientious political thinker. I quote Macaulay from memory; it is the circumstances which do not count with some gentlemen that decide in every single case the merit or demerit of a given proposal.

Sorry if I am so undogmatic.

An old, very authentic, and tested anti-fascist:

EGON RANSHOFEN-WERTHEIMER

Washington, D. C., February 18

But Hapsburgs Are Hapsburgs

Dear Sirs: Although I doubt that "conservative elements" might voluntarily cede "the bulk of their rights and privileges" I do not repeat Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's question "How does he know?" not only because I am unaware of a single instance in history when "conservative elements" renounced their privileges and still less their estates at a pretender's request, but because if they did they would cease to be "conservatives." Nor do historical events prove that people were ever so tired of fighting as not to start a civil war after their defeat rather than restore a pretender to the lost throne of the dynasty. Nostalgia for the past may prove, indeed, a strong political force, but only for those admirers of the past who indulge in the hopeless pastime of undoing history. It is true that republic versus monarchy is not necessarily a question of principle, but I venture to disbelieve that Social Democratic parties have fared better under the Romanovs, the Hohenzollerns, or in Hapsburg Hungary (where until 1918 socialism and prostitution were handled by the same police department) than in Switzerland, France, or the Weimar Republic.

By referring to Joseph II, whose liberal despotism ended in lamentable failure, and to George III my critic confirms the thesis that each dynasty has to be appraised on its merits and traditions. The fact alone that Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer found but *one* progressive-minded Hapsburg and but *one* reactionary ruler of England seems to determine the relative value of both dynasties. I fully agree with my critic that we must not identify monarchy with reaction and clericalism, but the Hapsburg tradition we cannot separate from either. This is apparently the stumbling block on which the identity of our view splits. Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer signs as a "very authentic and tested anti-fascist." No one who has read his "Victory Is Not Enough" will question the authenticity of his anti-Nazism, but one might not concur in his appraisal of Marshal Pétain (pp. 63, 95) or indorse his opinion that with the Cagoulards, the Croix de Feu, and the royalist conventicles an "intense revival of spiritual values set in." Religion is a wonderful thing, but it must not degenerate into politics. Violence remains violence and authoritarianism remains despotism even if they claim to make the people happy under the auspices of a holy church. An out-of-date Beelzebub is scarcely fit to expel a young and vigorous Satan.

RUSTEM VAMBERY

New York, March 3

Our Village Is Dead

[*The letter which appears below was written by a Serb who is now a prisoner in Germany to his brother in Canada.*]

Dear Brother: I am alive and well, wishing you every good from the Lord and my heart. Yesterday I received your address from Milos so I can tell you what happened to us in this war. All we had is gone and most are dead. Brothers Tanasiya, Dusan, Milisha, Marko, and Milisha's Stevan were killed, with 700 others, at the town hall of Grabovce. The goods were taken and the houses burned. Women and children were taken to camps, and no one knows what happened to them. My wife is working in Berlin and was separated from our children at Gradisca. Milos wrote that my Danica died in camp in Jaska near Zagreb. About the other two I know nothing. Partisans have taken little Stanko and we don't know what happened to him.

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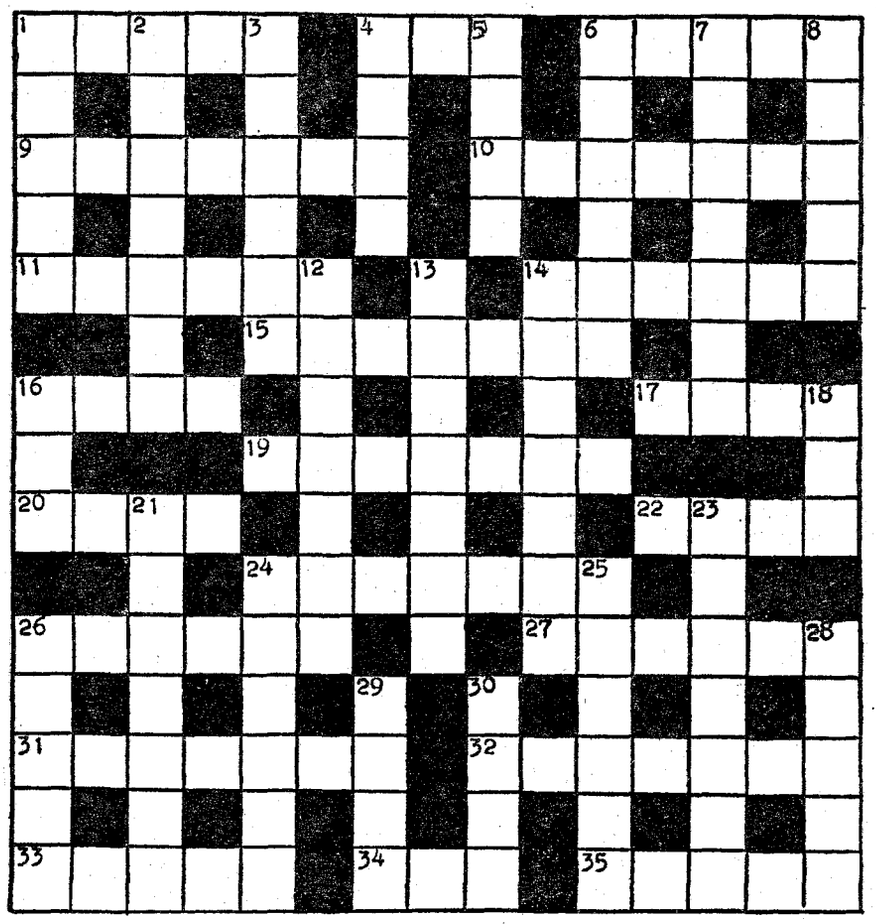
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 56

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Hangs (anag.)
4 Nothing has been seen of the Great one since 1844
6 A small drop either way
9 Afternoon performance which starts in the morning!
10 Grandee in a state of fury
11 There's a coin in the plate already
14 Opinions held from ten onwards
15 Simple Susie felt let down when the umbrella repair man told her he couldn't ------- her lost umbrella
16 Sounds like "nose," but is opposed to "eyes"
17 Does it turn to dust when it rolls out of sight when dressing?
19 Are loud-speaking ones driven to noise by their weakness? Cicero thought so
20 Peter Pan was never called this
22 Colloquially right
24 Wasted away seemingly for ten years
26 It's a wise cow that knows its own ------
27 Black birds
31 Part of the mechanism of a rifle
32 The last of thirteen London crosses
33 Current form of hunting
34 On the tip of one's tongue—half of it, anyway
35 Seven actors have this at heart

DOWN

1 A little Arab, not necessarily Arabian
2 A newspaper editorial makes it clear
3 The best sauce
4 Yes, yes . . . with a final yes!
5 Acute dislocation of the knee
6 Will out
7 Burke wrote of a wise and salutary -------
8 Everything he touched turned to gold
12 Every teacher was first of all this
13 His might be described as a pillar-to-post existence
14 Just the dog to go wrong in a row
16 Game quite unconnected with tiddley-winks
18 In hiding
21 Ditties (anag.)
23 The land of tall stories
24 He would have the motive, if not the opportunity, to rob Ted
25 Little different from what you would expect of a mad age
26 There is a land of this in Spanish America
28 "And finds, with keen discriminating -----,
Black's not so black, nor white so *very* white" (Canning)
29 Letter of the law!
30 "Careless their merits or their faults to ----,
His pity gave ere charity began" (Goldsmith)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 55

ACROSS:—1 A HELMET; 5 PYRRHUS; 9 IVORY; 10 INOCULATE; 11 TAGGED ONE; 12 DOSER; 13 RETORTS; 15 SPOONER; 17 INDENTS; 19 TEMPTED; 21 TWANG; 23 TALKATIVE; 25 NEGOTIATE; 26 TIERS; 27 SPENSER; 28 STRAYED.

DOWN:—1 AVIATOR; 2 ELONGATED; 3 MAYBE; 4 TAILORS; 5 PROCESS; 6 ROUND-WORM; 7 HEADS; 8 SHEARER; 14 RUNAGATES; 16 NOT LIKELY; 17 INTENTS; 18 SET FAIR; 19 TALKERS; 20 DRESSED; 22 ANGLE; 24 ACTOR.

I was mobilized in 1941 and taken prisoner at N. Gradacec. Milos is clerk at Pitomaca. About Stana and Andja we don't know. I think, and Milos wrote, that they are not alive. So our village is dead. Yovica Doljan and Vasil Devic were hung. Rade Beljanovic and his uncle were killed in their own barnyard. I can't tell it all. Greetings to Mate Opacic. His father is dead same as Stanko Opacic. Greetings to S. Krnjaic. I know only that his sister-in-law Ljubica is alive. Niece Dragica is in Germany.

Write to me if Mile is alive. Send his address. I am attaching a label for a food package which please send me. We receive many of them through Geneva. Many greetings to all of you.

S. J. C.

Room to Swing

Dear Sirs: Permit me to commend G. A. Borgese for his appraisal of the books by Spellman and Sheen. You are to be congratulated for giving Mr. Borgese the hill, *Ramath-lehi,* to stand upon and room to swing the jaw bone with skill (Judges 15:15-17). Your attempt to keep eyes open and minds alert will keep me, and many others, reading *The Nation* weekly.

A. B. CARLTON

Evergreen, Ala., February 28

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